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ABSTRACT

The Magazine Division of the proceedings contains the following 8 papers: "The Coverage of Prostate Cancer and Impotence in Four Magazines: 1991-2000" (W. Buzz Hoon); "A Content Analysis of Advertising Visuals in the Magazine Advertisements: The Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression" (Daechun An); "Do They 'Play Like Girls'? A Look at Advertising Photographs in Four Women's Sport Magazines" (Marie Hardin, Susan Lynn and Kristie Walsdorf); "Seeing Red: The 'Reader's Digest' during the McCarthy Era" (Marianne Russ); "Helping Women Save Their Marriages: A Content Analysis of the Marriage Advice Given in 'Ladies' Home Journal' Articles from the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s" (Renee Martin Kratzer); "Marriage, Magazines and Makeup Tips: A Comparative Content Analysis of 'Bride's' Magazine and 'Glamour' Magazine" (Vincent F. Filak); "Counting Coup: A 1987-2000 Circulation History of 'Native Peoples', the First National Consumer Magazine about America's First Peoples" (Marcelyn M. Kropp); and "A Longitudinal Quantitative Study of Gender and Related Determinants in U.S. Consumer Magazines" (David Abrahamson, Rebecca Lynn Bowman, Mark R. Greer and William Brian Yeado). (RS)

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Running head: MEN'S HEALTH ISSUES

The Coverage of Prostate Cancer and Impotence in Four Magazines: 1991-2000

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The Coverage of Prostate Cancer and Impotence in Four Magazines:
1991-2000

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to explore popular press coverage of two men's health issues, prostate cancer and impotence, in magazines with large male readerships. Examined were issues of *Gentleman's Quarterly*, *Esquire*, *Men's Health* and *Ebony* published between 1991 and 2000. Content was compared between the first half and the second half of the decade, which featured a cancer public education campaign, the release of the impotence drug, Viagra and large increases in magazine advertising revenue from drug companies. Results show magazines ran more articles on prostate cancer and impotence after 1995; coverage was usually presented in an informational manner; content provided information on prevention, diagnosis and treatment of the diseases; and men wrote most of the stories.

The Coverage of Prostate Cancer and Impotence in Four Magazines: 1991-2000

Managing personal health and health-related behavior is an intricate and complicated process. Pinpointing exactly what makes a person decide to take some action concerning his or her health would be an enormous task. Studies have shown the media are useful resources of health information for people in their decision-making process (Yows, 1991; Wright, 1975). Within the larger population of the mass media are popular magazines. Magazines targeted to the male audience, or magazines with large numbers of male readers, can be a source of health information.

Discourse concerning men's health must first attempt to define exactly what may be considered "men's health." The topic can be described as the prevention and diagnoses of illnesses that afflict the male population. Men's health should also include the personal well-being and quality of life of men. Some of the more prevalent health issues identified include cardiovascular or heart disease, diabetes, prostate issues, sexually transmitted diseases and other communicable diseases, erectile dysfunction or impotence, suicide, cancer and accidents/injuries (Men's Health Network, 2001). In recent years, more consumer magazines are attempting to include health-related information in their stories (Reese, 2000; Featherstone, 1998). In addition, during the past ten years, support groups have attempted to draw media attention to two health-related issues, prostate cancer and impotence (Reese, 2000).

According to the Centers for Disease Control, prostate cancer is the second leading cancer, after skin cancer, diagnosed among men in the United States. Prostate cancer is also second only to lung cancer as a cause of cancer deaths. The American Cancer Society predicted 180,400 new cases of prostate cancer would be diagnosed in 2000 and that approximately 31,900 men will die of the disease (CDC, 1999). The incidence rate among African American men is also quite high. According to Surveillance Epidemiology, and End Results (SEER) data, blacks in the United States have the highest rates of this cancer in the world (Wilcox, 1998). The mortality rate for black men is also twice as high as the mortality rate for other men (PCPRG, 1998). In general, 80 percent of the clinically diagnosed cases of prostate cancer occur with men aged 65 years or older (CDC, 1999).

While millions of dollars have been spent on prostate cancer prevention and treatment, the causes of the disease are still unknown (CDC, 1999). Medical research has not yet identified preventable risk factors or determined effective measures to prevent the disease. However, most researchers credit the rise in the incidence of reported cases of prostate cancer during the past decade to Prostate-specific antigen (PSA) testing. As the test has been more widely used for screening, more cases are being detected at an early stage. The Prostate Cancer Progress Review Group (PCPRG, 1998) felt the slow decline in the mortality rate between 1992 and 1997 was due in part to the sensitivity of the PSA test, which detected the cancer when it could be controlled with surgery or irradiation therapy.

Another significant issue concerning men's health is impotence, medically known as erectile dysfunction. The primary cause of impotence is a narrowing or clogging of

penile arteries due to arteriosclerosis. Implications from prostate cancer, most notably nerve signal damage, have been linked to impotence ("Ten Overturned Health 'Truths,'" 2000). However, impotence is also related to anything that promotes clogged arteries - - including inactivity, a diet high in saturated fat and smoking or causes from impaired nerve function, such as diabetes. Reports indicate as many as 30 million men in the United States alone may have varying degrees of erectile dysfunction (Lipman, 1998).

There are two medical benchmarks concerning prostate cancer and impotence, which involve the medical community's attempt to involve the media in a discourse about these issues. Since 1996, the Prostate Cancer Initiative (PCI), a national program developed in conjunction with the American Cancer Society, (ACS) and the Cancer Research Institute (CRI) have served clinical research, patient care, and public education needs (ACS, 2001). One of those public education efforts began in 1997. CRI (1997), along with US TOO, the largest men's cancer organization in the world, launched a educational initiative to educate men about the detection, diagnosis and management of the disease. The Prostate Review Group, composed of more than 100 members of the prostate cancer communities, also met in 1997 to advance research and education of the disease (PCPRG, 1998).

The second noteworthy development in a male-related health issues came in 1998, with the release of the drug sildenafil, aimed at assisting the problem of impotence (ACS, 2001). Sildenafil is best known by its brand name, Viagra. The drug's producer, Pfizer Corporation, has claimed the drug makes it possible for men with impotence to have an erection when aroused (Viagra-Rx.net, 2001). The erection occurs because Viagra widens dilated penile blood vessels (Lipman, 1998). Immediately after the Food and

Drug Administration approved Viagra, public interest and curiosity about its ability paralleled the demand for the drug. Almost 3 million prescriptions were written for Viagra in the first three months of its release (Lipman, 1998).

This paper suggests that the education program about prostate cancer and the publicity concerning Viagra provide an opportunity to compare magazine coverage concerning men's health topics. Popular men's magazines, like most media aim to follow readers' concerns and interests. Theoretically, a magazine provides content to inform and serve the reader. Part of the responsibility of a men's magazine to its readers would be to provide health information on topics that impact their well-being.

Popular men's magazines have another incentive for including health-related topics, advertising dollars. Pharmaceutical advertisers have increased their spending in all magazines dramatically during the past 11 years. The direct-to-consumer drug advertising in magazines was only $12 million in 1989, but increased to $313 million in 1995, $600 million in 1996, 1997 and 1998 (Colford, 1997; Case, 1999). Those numbers soared to more than $900 million in 1999 and more than $1.1 billion in 2000 (MPA, 2001).

Literature Review

This study is one of the first to examine how men's health issues have been covered in popular magazines. A search was conducted using five academic search engines (ERIC, Disseration Abstracts, Infotrac, Lexis-Nexis and EBSCO) to find previous research on the topic. While a number of researchers have explored the coverage of general health topics in magazines, the search found none specific to men's health. Shaulis (1998) analyzed exercise messages in magazine articles from 1925 to

1968. The study concluded that exercise information from the magazines in that time period was often incomplete and emphasized quick results. Inaccurate information was also found in an examination of magazine coverage of mental health topics (Barton, 1996). Barton (1996) found that the magazines provided the public with a negative image of mental health services.

Some research has focused on a particular health concern, cigarette smoking. One study (Warner, Goldenhar & McLaughlin, 1992) examined the coverage of smoking-related dangers in article content and the presence of cigarette advertisements in the U.S. magazines. The authors found support for the belief that the magazines restricted their coverage of smoking dangers out of fear of economic reprisals by tobacco advertisers. A similar study analyzed editorial and advertising content of six women's magazines for the coverage of smoking related health hazards (Kessler, 1989). After finding no substantive coverage of any of the health hazards associated with smoking, Kessler (1989) also argued that tobacco advertising revenue and the lack of coverage were connected.

Most of the research on health coverage in magazines has focused primarily on content in women's magazines. Miller (1980) examined the coverage of health-related content in six women's magazines between 1976 and 1978. Miller stated that magazines served as a major source of health information, which emphasized promotion, practices and preventative orientation. However, that study is one of the few to praise the print medium's efforts to raise the public's awareness of health issues.

In the past decade, several scholars have provided arguments that press treatment of public health issues has been both sparse and superficial. Sacks (1991) examined

seven women's magazines for their coverage of national health promotion and objectives. The author found only limited coverage of information concerning many health problems that affect women. In an analysis of articles about breast cancer, Olive (1996) reported that women's magazines provided contradictory information on screening guidelines and failed to report the power women have in battling the disease. Another study showed women's magazines gave their readers very little information about the risks and treatment of colon cancer (Gerlach, Marino, Weed & Hoffman-Goetz, 1997). Reed (1990) examined women's magazines for the existence of "mobilizing information" which might encourage readers suffering from eating disorders to take some action concerning their dilemmas. Reed found 51 articles about the topic in 14 magazines during the 1980s with less than half of the articles containing specific mobilizing information. While women's magazines were found to provide a sustained level of coverage concerning rape, Benedict (1994) found the articles upheld some of the myths of rape and often reported only the titillating aspects of the crime. In sum, these studies typify the need for better coverage of all health-related issues to the general public.

Medical and media scholars have established the research area of press coverage concerning health issues, primarily focusing on women. What is missing is the beginning of the study of men's health coverage. This purpose of this study is to lay the building blocks for that research. Based on past research, the following research questions guided this study:

RQ1: What kind of coverage did four magazines with large numbers of male readers provide about prostate cancer and impotence in the past decade?

RQ2: Did coverage about prostate cancer in those magazines change in the 1990s?

RQ3: Did coverage about impotence change during the decade?

Method

This study examined article content in three magazines directed toward a male audience in the United States and one directed at African Americans. The magazines were *Men's Health, Esquire, GQ (Gentleman's Quarterly)* and *Ebony*. Each of the magazines emphasizes lifestyle and/or health-related issues.

- *Men's Health:* Information for me on fitness, nutrition, sports, self-care, relationships, work, travel.
- *Esquire*: A lifestyle magazine for professional men 30-49 years old.
- *GQ:* Fashion and lifestyle magazine for men.
- *Ebony*: A general interest picture magazine, concentrates on stories of primary interest to African American readers. (Standard Periodical Directory, 1999)

Of the men's magazines, *Men's Health* has the largest circulation, more than its two closest competitors, *GQ* and *Esquire* combined (see Table 1). While lifestyle magazines like *GQ* and *Esquire* used to primarily focus on news, fashion and male fantasies, they have allocated more pages to men's health and fitness in recent years (Featherstone, 1998). *Ebony* was selected for this study because prostate cancer is so prevalent in African American men. The magazine has a high circulation, but its male readers constitute fewer than half of that number.

Data were collected from the four magazines during a ten-year period, 1991 through 2000. That period was selected due to the increased education campaign effort

about prostate cancer, the introduction of the impotence drug, Viagra and the dramatic rise of advertising expenditures in magazines from pharmaceutical companies. During the ten years, *GQ*, *Esquire* and *Ebony* published on a monthly basis, while *Men's Health* issued 10 magazines each year (see Table 1). Since it was important to locate all stories relating to the topics, the total population of magazines was examined. The total number of magazines for which data were available was 460. An article was classified as pertaining to the topic if it specifically discussed prostate cancer, impotence or both health problems.

After each article was selected and was read, two coders classified information according to a coding scheme adapted from Miller (1980). The instrument described thematic content (reporting scientific study or offering information only), health education concept focus (orientation towards prevention/diagnosis, treatment, equally divided and other), references to authoritative sources, references to Viagra, references to prostate cancer education, authorship credentials (staff writer, medical professional, professional writer, consumer/reader and other), and authorship gender. There were two coders for this study. A Holsti's test produced an inter-coder reliability score of .91.

Findings

From January 1, 1991, to December 31, 2000, 64 articles on prostate cancer and/or impotence were published in the four magazines. Most of the articles focused on prostate cancer (n=42). Coverage of impotence was found less often (n=18) while magazines rarely included both health topics in the same article (n=4). *Men's Health* published the majority of articles (n=46), followed by *GQ* (n=9), *Esquire* (n=6) and *Ebony* (n=3).

GQ was the only magazine to provide a fairly equal number of stories on each issue (Table 2). The impotence topic was discussed less than half as much as prostate cancer in *Men's Health*. Even though almost 40 percent of *Ebony*'s readers are men (see Table 1), there was a total absence in the magazine of the coverage of impotence. The three prostate cancer articles during the ten-year span are also insufficient, considering the number of African American men stricken with the disease (Wilcox, 1998).

The survey period displayed a definite reporting trend. The largest number of articles appeared in 1997 (n=14) and 1998 (n=14), while the fewest number of articles were in 1991 (n=1) and 1992 (n=2).

The first research question of this study was to explore the content in stories dealing with the two health issues. Across all years studied, data indicate content of the articles relied on primarily on information about the illnesses (70.3%). Content reporting a scientific study appeared less frequently (29.7%).

The health education concept focus of the articles was distributed much more evenly than other categories. The magazines published articles on prevention and diagnosis (40.6%) only slightly more often than treatment (34.4%). Both education concepts were discussed 25% of the time.

The articles' authors used authority figures as a source of their information in most stories. Authoritative sources were found in 76.6% of the articles.

The majority of the articles were written by a professional writer or named staff writer (82.8%); followed by non-cited staff members (15.6%) and medical professional (1.6%).

Male writers (81.3%) authored most of the stories. Only two female writers (3.1%) wrote prostate cancer and/or impotence articles during the time period. Anonymous authors (15.6%) accounted for the rest of the findings.

Research questions two and three in this study asked if there were any changes in coverage of prostate cancer and impotence in the 1990s. In order to investigate this subject, the articles' publication dates were merged into two new variables. The decade was split into two equal sections, 1991 through 1995 and 1996 through 2000. One of the justifications for the division is that several cancer organizations implemented a national educational and promotional campaign about the prostate cancer in 1996 (ACS, 2001). Another reason concerns the publicity prior to and immediately following the release of the impotence drug, Viagra in 1998 (Lipman, 1998). Finally, magazine advertising revenues from pharmaceutical companies, which would possibly benefit from increased public knowledge of drug therapies and testing devices for these health issues, doubled in 1996 (Colford, 1997).

Results show that when the decade is split, the coverage of prostate cancer and impotence changed. As Graph 2 shows, the coverage of prostate cancer was significantly different during the two time periods. The disease received more coverage during 1996-2000 (n=32) than during 1991-1995 (n=10). Analysis of the coverage of impotence showed increases in the second half of the decade as well. Magazines discussed the topic only slightly more often after 1995 (n=11) than before it (n=7).

Discussion

This study showed that information about the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of two major men's health issues, prostate cancer and impotence has increased in selected

media during the 1990s. Whether the push to include more of this information in magazines with large numbers of male readers has come from cancer awareness groups, the major U.S. drug companies or independent editorial decision making is not known.

Beyond the quantitative data analysis, a qualitative examination of the content provides some support for the problems men have in dealing with health issues. The discourse present in articles recognized the sensitivity necessary is presenting serious health topics to a male audience. A recent study has shown that men are three times less likely than women to go to a doctor (Reese, 2000). The study also indicated that when men are sick, they usually wait as long as possible to seek medical attention (Reese, 2000). The articles analyzed in this study usually acknowledged that many men do not tend to their health needs often enough. However, an effort to integrate health and illness into regular magazine coverage has the potential to overcome attitudinal and psychological barriers to healthy behavior.

Past research on the media's coverage of health topics has demonstrated that effective and accurate communication is also essential (Gerlach, Marino, Weed & Hoffman-Goetz, 1997; Sacks, 1991; Olive 1996). Understanding men's fears of health topics, the messages in magazine articles have had to follow different guidelines. Jean Bonhomme, president of the Black Men's Health Network, stated, "The health care system needs to present itself as a partner to men's masculinity. It needs to be positioned as a way for men to maintain strength, performance and virility" (Reese, 2000). There was some support that discourse in these magazines was framed in a way that drew men's attention away from their fears. Many articles used masculine terms as a substitution for penis. "Plumbing parts," "private parts," "male plumbing," "the Willy," "Mr. Happy"

and "muscles of love" were phrases inserted in some articles. The manly descriptions also continued for the word "impotence." Some authors phrased erectile dysfunction as: "die hard," "all rise," "raising the dead" and "raising the Titanic." Since the results of this study showed that men wrote most of the articles, the authors were apparently speaking in terms they felt their audience would prefer.

This study's findings show that beyond the superficial language choices, selected magazines are addressing the important issues dealing with prostate cancer and impotence. The articles discussed prevention measures and the promotion of lifestyle changes for each disease. Information concerning prostate cancer usually contained references to PSA screening. Medical care and treatment was included as well.

This study is one of the first to examine how the press covers health issues particular to men. The coverage found in these four magazines may represent limited examples. Also, the amount of coverage in *Men's Health* far outweighs what was found in *Ebony*. Future studies should include a popular magazine targeted solely to African American men. Future research might also expand the data base by examining other men's magazines. The coverage of other health related topics, like heart disease, should also be investigated.

In the past decade, popular magazines have started the process of educating U.S. men about prostate cancer and impotence. The responsibility for progress lies not only with the media but also with the key players in health issues: non-profit and government policy organizations and pharmaceutical companies.

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Table 1: Profile of Six leading men's magazines

Title of Magazine	Years of publ.[1]	Fre-quency	Annual U.S. sub. Rate[1]	Circu-lation[2]	Percent Male Readers[3]
Esquire	78	Monthly	$18	679,052	67.3%
Ebony	56	Monthly	$18	1,728,986	39.1%
Gentleman's Quarterly (GQ)	44	Monthly	$20	898,508	71.2%
Men's Health	15	10x yr.	$21	1,629,568	86.8%

[1] Standard Periodical Directory, 22nd ed. (1999).
[2] Audit Bureau of Circulation, circulation averages for the six months ending December 31, 2000. Fine (2001).

[3] Mediamark Research Magazine Total Audiences Report, Spring 1997.

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Table 2-Number of Prostate Cancer and Impotence Articles Published in Four U.S. Magazines from 1991 to 2000.

Magazine Title	Impotence	Prostate Cancer
GQ	4	5
Esquire	1	5
Ebony	0	3
Men's Health	13	33
Total/Percent	18	46

Table 3-Number of Issue Topics in Articles Published in Four U.S. Magazines from 1991 to 2000.

Issue	
Impotence	18
Prostate Cancer	42
Impotence and Prostate Cancer	4
Total	64

Table 4-Frequency of the Author's Credentials in Articles Published in Four U.S. Magazines from 1991 to 2000.

Author's Credentials	
Not-cited, staff	10
Cited, medical professional	1
Cited, professional writer	53
Total/Percent	64

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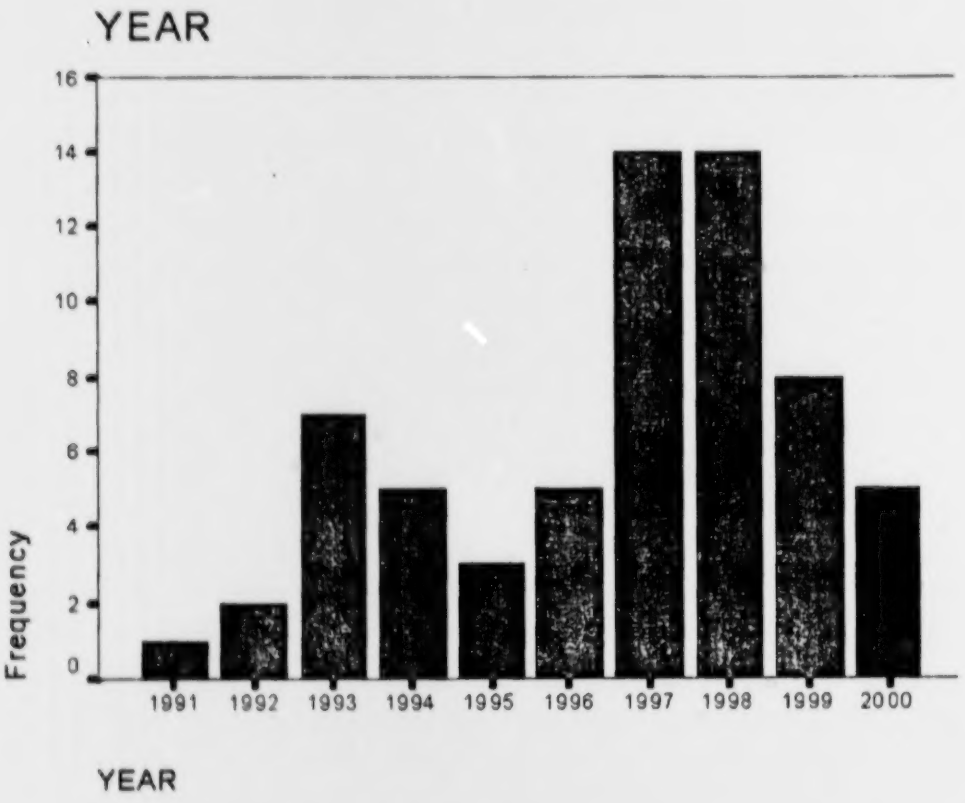
Graph 1-Number of Thematic Content in Articles Published in Four U.S. Magazines from 1991 to 2000.



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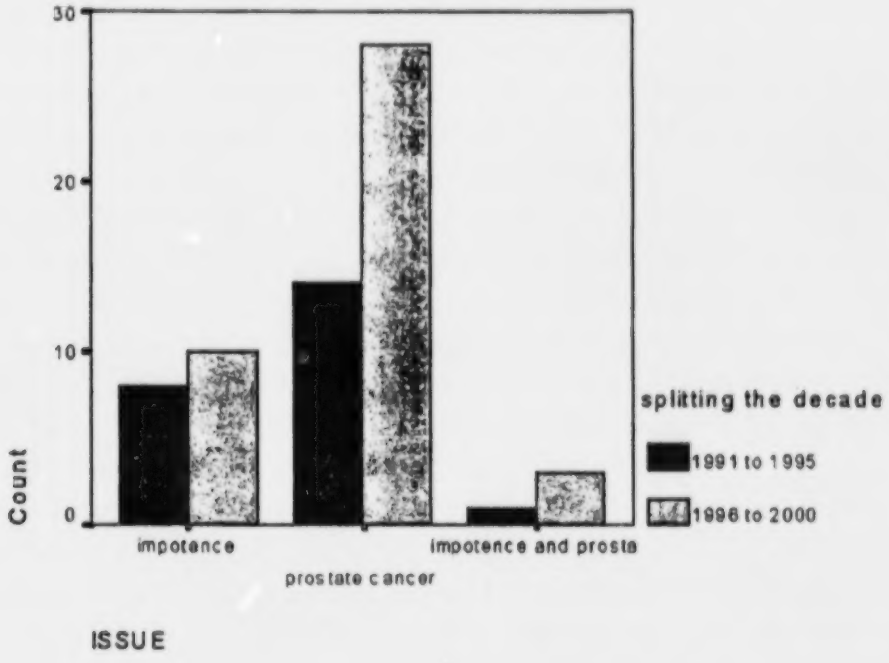
Graph 2-Number of Articles on Impotence and Prostate Cancer between 1991-1995 and 1996-2000 in Four U.S.
Magazines.



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Coding Sheet

Magazine:
- 1 GQ
- 2 Esquire
- 3 Ebony
- 4 Men's Health

Date: Month and Year of publication

Health issue:
- 1 Impotence
- 2 Prostate cancer
- 3 Both

Thematic Content:
- 1 Reporting scientific study
- 2 Offering information only
- 3 Fictional account

The focus of the article was:
- 1 Prevention/Diagnosis oriented
- 2 Treatment oriented
- 3 Equally distributed between prevent/diagnosis and treatment
- 4 Other

Reference to authoritative source:
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Reference to Viagra:
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Reference to prostate education initiative:
- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Authorship-credentials
- 1 Not cited, staff
- 2 Cited-medical professional
- 3 Cited-professional writer
- 4 Consumer/reader
- 5 Other

Authorship-gender
- 1 Male
- 2 Female

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Revised !!

Running Heads: Ad visuals

A Content Analysis of Advertising Visuals in the Magazine Advertisements: The Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression

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INTRODUCTION

Advertising visual and its graphical components have long been the target of studies since marketers began to adopt full-scale marketing activities in the late nineteenth century. The important theme was how the visual appeal could be translated into an effective selling message (Assael, Kofron, & Burgi, 1967; Valiente, 1973; Holbrook & Lehmann, 1980; Rossiter, 1981; Moriartry, 1986; Feasley & Stuart, 1990). The role of advertising visuals includes obtaining attention, creating impact, and stimulating interest from an indifferent audience through conveying a main selling point of products or brands (Moriarty, 1986). Advertising visuals perform two main functions - literal and symbolic (Moriarty, 1987). Literal visuals provide factual information on products or services, and symbolic visuals perform an indirect role to connect the images of products or services with the meanings that are appropriately assigned to them.

Advertising is part of the changing social, economic, and cultural environment, and its visuals might have been created in a way that could reflect those changes that people would want to adjust themselves to (Fox, 1975). Another way of linking advertising and its visuals to society and culture is the cultural approach to advertising. Cultural historians argue that advertising is an important window through which different aspects of society and culture can be explained (Potter, 1954). But also, the advertising itself can be explained to determine how it might have been shaped by society. This approach recognizes advertising not only as a window to culture but also a mirror that reflects the culture, or the cultures (Sloan, 1991).

For any specific period of time, this approach viewed that prevailing social and cultural values could have dictated how advertising and its visuals evolved around them. Based on this approach, the two economically contrasting periods, the "Roaring Twenties" and the "Great Depression" were compared through a content analysis of visual forms in the magazine advertisements to see if the ads and its visuals had reflected the underlying economic conditions in them.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Visuals in Advertising

Visual appeal always had a prominent place in advertising. The old saying is that a picture is worth a thousand words, so many advertisers usually try to visually communicate messages, rather than bog down the receiver in heavy text. Hecker & Stewart (1988) state:

> Visual recall is becoming increasingly important, and corporate symbols and advertising will need to be stronger and eye-catching to capture consumer attention. Nonverbal communication will not only become a means for drawing attention to a verbal message, but it will also become the message itself in many instances ... The use of imagery, visual associations, drawings and paintings, models, visual memory devices, product and corporate symbols ... are pervasive in advertising (p. 3).

Visual imagery is used to command attention, stimulate curiosity, demonstrate product features and benefits, establish a personality for a product, associate the product with certain symbols and lifestyles, and anchor the brand identity in the minds of the target audience (Moriarty, 1987). Additionally, advertisers use visual imagery to enhance or strengthen the message about their product. For instance, when something neutral (the product) is paired with something that elicits a positive affective reaction (a

visual), the neutral stimulus may come to evoke a positive response to the ad (Petty & Cacioppo, 1996). In other words, visuals can add meaning (and subsequently a positive response) to something that is basically neutral (the product).

Rossiter & Percy (1983) divided visual communication in advertising into two categories of stimuli – static and dynamic. The three elements that determine static stimuli are picture size, exposure duration and number of exposures. An increase in any of these variables has been shown to increase recognition, encoding of details and development of denotative images among viewers. Although the attributes of static stimuli do not fit perfectly in measuring dynamic stimuli, this latter type also has resulted in high viewer response.

Communication by visual image is easily the most important dimension of an advertising message. Even in a medium like radio, the images produced by the listener still carry an important function (Moriarty, 1986). Visual imagery also can have an effect on textual components in advertisements, which affects brand awareness or liking. Edell & Staelin (1983) found that very different processing occurs depending on pictorial and verbal message congruencies in advertisements. Advertisements were more effective when the picture "agreed" with the textual message.

In 1987, Moriarty offered an effective typology of visuals in a content analysis of magazine advertising. The first category of visuals determines whether a visual is photographic or an illustration. At the next level (the crux of the current study), it is determined if visuals are literal or symbolic. If literal, they can be further subcategorized into identification (brand, logo, package), description (what it looks like, parts attributes, schematics), comparison (between two competitors, before and after) or

demonstration (how to do, make, use, etc.). Symbolic visuals can use association (lifestyle, typical person, situation), association with a character or celebrity, metaphor, storytelling or aesthetics. (See Table 1)

In general, literal visuals are used to communicate factual information, so their role is to identify, describe and report details of a product. Symbols communicate through meaning. They present concepts through the use of abstract associations (Moriarty, 1987).

Cultural approach to the history of advertising

While much of the early history written about advertising has supported one side or another in the dispute over the direct effects of advertising on consumers, cultural history has tended to say more about American culture than advertising *per se* (Avery, 1991). In this approach, advertising is viewed as mirrors of society, being influenced and shaped by the culture and society (p. 243). Technological developments, social, economic, and political conditions influence the society and, as a consequence, impact what is contained in advertising. For example, economic conditions have been regarded as important historic forces that have influenced society, industry, educational system, politics and religion.

America has symbolized "economic abundance" during the last three centuries, and that force has helped shape the American society through an institution of modern advertising (Potter, 1954). Potter stated, in his landmark work on cultural history of advertising, *People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character,*:

> Advertising should be recognized as an important social influence and should be identified with one of the most pervasive forces in American life, the force of economic abundance. The most critical point on the functioning of society shifts from production to consumption. So, the culture must be reoriented to convert the producer's culture into consumer's culture. Advertising appeals primarily to consumer's desires.

This is what he called "the social effect of advertising," which is, in parallel but broader sense, "to make the individual like what he gets – to enforce already existing attitudes, to diminish the range and variety of choices, and, in terms of abundance, to exalt the materialistic virtues of consumption." (p. 188) He argues that advertising should be directed to the stimulation or even the exploitation of materialistic drives and then to the standardization of these drives as accepted criteria of social value. In other words, advertising is part of the social, cultural and business milieu, and its achievement depends on the ability of the advertiser to predict and react to a changing society (Russell & Lane, 1990).

Advertisements contained in the media respond in similar ways to external circumstances, so the content of advertising reflects how advertisers delivered their audiences to the world (Fox, 1975). As such, advertising can be an important window through which different aspects of American society can be explained. But also, the advertising itself can be explained to determine how it might have been shaped by American society. This approach, called cultural history, recognizes advertising not only as a window to culture but also a mirror that reflects the culture, or the cultures.

In summary, advertising is part of the changing social, cultural and business environment, and its success depends on the ability of the advertisers to predict and to react to a changing society. In this sense, advertising reflects the society's economic

and political conditions (Sivulka, 1998), so its visuals would be created in a way that could appeal to consumers who were concerned with and affected by those societal variables.

Advertising and its visuals in the early twentieth century

Stimulated by the automobile industry, the American economy took off on a period of prosperity in the 1920s. Factory assembly lines multiplied, the stock market soared, and industrial production nearly doubled between 1921 and 1929. Americans enjoyed the prosperity, and this affluence led the emergence of mass market over a decade. Faced with a robust economy and relaxed regulation, advertising would never again have so positive a climate in which to operate. The total volume of advertising expenditures reached up to $3.4 billion in 1929 and this was almost 60% increase from that of 1919 (U.S. Bureau of the Census).

During the decade, people showed an evangelical fervor in advertising appeals (Seldon, 1963). Trend showed greater emphasis on image projection in regard to copy style and visual approach, and the common theme of advertising in this era revolved around issues of lifestyle and image (Sivulka, 1998). Particularly, the Art Deco movement had a significant impact on advertising style and visuals and diversity of advertising styles became identified with this movement. Advertising visuals in this period, by and large, comprehended lifestyles of people and images of products to create impact.

The end of the "Roaring Twenties" was signaled by the stock market collapse of October 29, 1929, a day known as "Black Tuesday." Even though few Americans

had stock market holdings, most of them were greatly affected by the Great Depression that followed (Lumina, 1970). Between 1929 and 1933 the Gross National Product (the sum of all goods and services produced in the U.S.) fell from $103 billion to $55.7 billion (U.S. Bureau of the Census). Also, the advertising budgets fell from $3.4 billion to $1.3 billion, a drop of 62%. Bank failed, factories closed, railroads went bankrupt, farmers fell into desperate straits, and the white-collar group was deeply impacted. Advertising was considered a tyranny of waste from top to bottom, especially intolerable in this era when everybody was going to tighten his belt (Seldon, 1963).

The Depression affected people and the society in many ways. It caused higher rate of unemployment and, in turn, low disposable income. The hardest hit was that the Depression threatened American beliefs in the future of the country and the capitalist economic system (Silvulka, 1998). Even though many advertising agencies and corporate advertising departments increasingly engaged in a struggle for survival after the market crash, even steeper declines in advertising expenditures and revenues were brought in this era.

The look and content of advertising in the early 1930s were affected by economic and professional concerns (Sivulka, 1998). Advertisers eventually replaced color and illustrations with extensive text in a multiple of typefaces to grab attention. Louder headlines, strident hard-sell copy, and gross exaggerations appeared as pseudoscientific arguments and appeals to emotion. Advertising capitalized on consumers' intensified economic and personal insecurities with this hard-sell approach. Ads looked depressed compared to lavish, colorful, and imaginative ads of previous

decade. This trend had been prevailing until World War II, which ended the Depression.

The criticism argues that creative leaders in the 1920s pursued their own nonrepresentative tastes, and they often made the mistake of trying to escalate the public's taste of using artistic language that was too toney and abstract for their audience (Sivulka, 1998). However, it seems that advertising creative had employed some generalizable visual strategies in their advertisements to create impact on the audiences. Similarly, in the 1930s, which can be represented as the time of depression, it is suggested that economic and professional concerns largely affected the style and content of advertising (Seldon, 1962).

Research Questions

A consideration of the function of advertising visuals in conjunction with the social and economic changes during the 1920s and the 1930s produced several research questions. Particularly, in relation to the types and functions of visuals in print advertisements in the 1920s and the 1930s, the following research questions are suggested:

RQ #1. What were the main categories of products advertised with visuals during these periods?

RQ #2. What type of advertising visuals (photographs or illustrations) dominated these periods?

RQ #3. What were the important functions of advertising visuals in the 1920s and the 1930s?

RQ #4. Was there any relationship between the type of visuals and their functions?

RQ #5. In each category of the function, what were the prominent uses of visuals? (e.g. for literal visuals, identification or demonstration, and for symbolic visuals, association or metaphor)

It is hypothesized that the economic and social conditions that prevailed in the United States in the 1920s and 1930s will be reflected in the visuals used in magazine advertising. Specifically, advertisements in the 1920s are expected to perform more symbolic functions while those in the 1930s did more literal functions. Consequently, the use of visuals for each of the two categories, symbolic and literal, is expected to be significantly different between two eras, 1920s and 1930s. The literal functions, such as identification, description, comparison, and demonstration, are expected to be the focus of advertising visuals in the 1930s, while the 1920s' advertising visuals performed more of such symbolic functions as association, metaphor, storytelling, and aesthetics.

METHODOLOGY

To study the most interesting and challenging research problems, which are those about the causes and effects of communication, content analysis, a research tool for making inferences about the meaning of communication messages, is a powerful device to assess "average" of a culture or a social system in general (Shaw, 1984). Berg also suggests that content analysis may focus on either quantitative or qualitative aspects of communication messages (2001). Especially for the study of advertising, a quantitative content analysis can move beyond counting to deal with the meanings that advertising attaches to prevalent culture by including latent variables such as contextual and societal variables that are not physically present and countable (Taylor et al., 1995).

In this regard, quantitative content analysis may be one of the appropriate approaches to assessment of the cultural impact of the societal changes on advertising.

This study applied content analysis to chart functions of visuals in magazine advertisements of the 1920s and 1930s. Three mainstream magazines were selected for this study; *Time, New Yorker*, and *Saturday Evening Post*. *Time,* which Luce and Hadden started in March 1923, was chosen for the study, as it was felt that it represented "mainstream" publication that was extant almost 80 years ago and still on newsstand today. Because of the change in frequency of publication by *Saturday Evening Post* from a weekly to a bi-monthly in recent years, it was not at first considered. However, this problem was outweighed by the fact that *Saturday Evening Post* was noted probably the strongest weekly magazine (Wood, 1956) and was almost symbol of the country itself (Wilcox & Moriarty). Also, *New Yorker* was examined for this study, as it was felt that "it is a magazine avowedly published for a metropolitan audience and thereby will escape an influence which hampers most national publications. It expects a considerable national circulation, but this will come from persons who have a metropolitan interest" (Tebbel, 1969).

Although *Newsweek, Fortune,* and *Life* magazine were also identified as notable magazines in this period, they were excluded in this study because their first issues were not dated before 1930. The goal of developing sampling frames was to select magazines that would represent a wide range of readership and demographic categories.

To analyze approximately the same number of advertisements from each magazine, a quota sampling procedure was employed. Four issues of each magazine from the years 1927,1928, 1929, 1935, 1937, and 1939 were selected for a total of

seventy-two issues. Since *Time* and *New Yorker* did not deliver enough advertisements until the latter years of the 1920s, advertisements appeared in the 1927, 1928, and 1929 were collected to represent the 1920s. For ensuring enough time difference between the two periods, years of 1935, 1937, and 1939 became the sampling frame years of the issues for the 1930s. Beginning with a random selection of January, February, or March, the first issue of every third month was systematically included in the sample. Similarly, every fourth full or double-page display advertisement was included, counting from a randomly chosen starting point. A total of 334 advertisements were collected.

Advertising visuals were grouped together in three ways: by product category, by its execution type (photograph or illustration), and by its function in advertising. In order to sort them by types of product, nine segments of product categories were provided: auto or auto-related (including tire, gasoline, and motor oil), financial service (including bank, insurance, and other financial services), home electronics, food, beverages (including beer and other liquors), cigarette, clothing, household miscellaneous goods and others (including personal care, furniture, travel, etc.). Illustration and photograph were the two main categories of visual type while some of them used a combination of illustrations and photographs. The functions of visuals was divided into two broad categories: literal and symbolic. Literal visuals were divided into identification, description, comparison, and demonstration. Symbolic visuals included association, association with a character or celebrity, metaphor, storytelling, and aesthetic. The author of this paper, who had worked as an advertising manager for several years, coded all ads. For checking coder reliability, Scott's pi formula was used.

Twenty-five ads that were not included in this study were coded twice to get the Scott's pi. The coder reliability of each coding category ranged from 82% to 87% (i.e. 87% for functions of visuals, 82% for type of visuals, and 78% for sub-function items).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Advertising both in the 1920s and the 1930s was led mainly by automobile industry. Table 2 summarizes types of product categories examined in this study. Automobile ads, combined with tire, battery, and motor oil ads, accounted for about 31% of all advertised products in three magazines in the 1920s and the 1930s. Auto or auto-related ads were seen on every other page of magazines in this era. Ads of Plymouth, Chevrolet, Chrysler, Cadillac, and other brands frequently appeared in a classical style along with Kelly Springfield tire ads, which was one of the outstanding tire campaigns that ran from 1918 to 1931 (Sivulka, 1998).

The second most frequent product type was insurance and financial services. Particularly, in the 1930s, when people suffered substantially from shortage of disposable income, several types of financial services often appealed to those who needed financial aids.

In response to dramatic increase of demand for radio and refrigerator, home electronics business owners became one of the dominant advertisers in this period, as were food marketers. Of course, our indispensable necessities for everyday life, such as clothing, food, and drinks, which were not much sensitive to the changes of economic condition, followed home electronics. Like financial service industry, a significant change in advertising volume between the 1920s and the 1930s was identified in the

category of household miscellaneous goods, such as chair, desk, furniture, heater, watch, clock, lamp, carpet, and the like. The ad frequency within this category radically dropped from 16% to 9% of the total volumes. As disparity in wealth became severe problem, the relative poor had to reduce their consumption of goods or services that were not always required for their everyday lives. Interestingly, the liquor ads increased from 5% to 16% during this period. This might reflect a desperate affective state, which could be explained by the surge of financial crisis in the 1930s.

Table 3 and Table 4 crosstabulates the two periods of time with types of ad visuals used. There was a significant difference in the use of photographs and illustrations during the 1920s and 1930s (Chi-square = 17.295, d.f. = 1, $p < .000$). The percentage of ads that contained photographs rose during this period. In the 1920s, photographs appeared in only 28% of all ads while illustrations were used in 72% of ads. But the ratio changed to 50 to 50 in the 1930s.

Two factors, at least in part, may explain to this ratio change: the increase in importance of realistic impression and spread of the use of photographs in ads. In the 1930s, advertising capitalized on consumers' intensified economic and personal insecurities with hard-sell approach, which emphasized louder headlines, strident hard-sell copy, and identification and description of the product (Sivulka, 1998). The result was a dramatic increase in the use of photographs rather than illustrations because the focus shifted to real impressions of the product rather than depiction of product personality or image. Another factor contributing to the increased use of photographs could have been an effort to reduce production costs because illustrations would usually take more time and labor, and, in turn, more cost than photographs. A recent study

shows that almost 97% of print ads used photography rather than illustrations for realistic description of impressions of products or brands (Moriarty, 1987). Interestingly, the percentage change in the use of illustration in *Saturday Evening Post* was tremendous, declining from 83% in the 1920s to 38% in the 1930s.

Typical uses of photographs and illustrations are shown in the appendix (See Ad #1 and Ad #2). Chrysler tried to appeal to consumers' feeling, showing its "72" Sport Roadstar in an artistic illustration, while Plymouth wanted to demonstrate the actual scene of an inspector's careful scrutiny of all door pulls and window-lift handles. The former appeared in the May 7, 1928 issue of *Time* and the latter was in *Time*'s July 10th issue of 1937.

Table 6 shows that there was a significant difference in the role of visuals between the 1920s and the 1930s (Chi-square = 12.704, d.f. = 1, $p < .000$). A two-step comparison attempted to determine the difference in the use of literal and symbolic visuals in the 1920s and the 1930s (See Table 5). First, in the 1920s, literal visuals only accounted for 43% while symbolic visuals made up 57%. In the 1930s, literal visuals increased to 59% while symbolic visuals decreased to 41%. The other way is to compare among segments of role of the ad visuals. Association took the first rank with its usage level of 28% of the total visual ads in the 1920s. It decreased to 12% in the 1930s. On the contrary, in the 1930s, description increased to be involved in 33% of the total ads examined in this study although it only made up 22% of total ads in the 1920s.

In addition, Table 7 shows that the percentage of illustrations used in literal advertisements was less than those used in symbolic advertisements. This suggests that illustrations were more appropriate visual type for symbolic functions. A Chi-square

analysis of the difference in the use of illustrations and photographs for literal and symbolic visuals found that there was a statistically significant difference between literal and symbolic visuals (Chi-square = 3.954, d.f. = 1, $p < .049$).

The association function of the visual represents an effort to relate the product with consumers' lifestyle, typical person's character, and everyday use situation. It is an indirect way of identification or description of the product to persuade consumers to try their products. It never wants to directly describe or identify product characteristics or its usage, but it usually entices consumers to try the product through indirect explanation of potential consumers' lifestyle and situations in which the product is certainly tried. In the 1920s, when a typical person had disposable money, the advertisers could not successfully persuade them to buy only with direct explanation or description of the product. Rather, they needed to appeal to their consumers with much more sophisticated use of language or visuals. Hard copy or big headline were never better than soft copy and artistic visuals because consumers were fully supplied with various kinds of products, with which they could enlarge their choices of decision.

Ad #3, the Camel ad, which was chosen from *Time* magazine in December 1927, was a typical ad using association function of visuals. It associated Camel with a group of people who were enjoying the beautiful rural scenery in the winter season. It was stingy in using copy and never tried to use all the space reserved for visuals and copies. Rather, it just tried to maximize the effect of minimal use of copy and picturesque illustration.

The soft sell approach, however, faded when the stock market collapsed in 1929. In the 1930s, demonstration and identification became the two main functions of

advertising visuals in part because consumers might have considered product characteristic and price more than anything. This may be due to their lack of money to buy, time spent on decision and enthusiasm toward search for upscale and sophisticatedly advertised products. Advertisers wanted to give a direct message. They had to identify what their products were, describe as may advantages as possible, and distinguish the features of their products from competitor's products.

In the 1930s, advertising creative directors became more concerned with literal roles of visuals such as identification, description, comparison and demonstration. Table 5 shows this point very well. Out of 157 visuals, sampled from the 1930s ads, almost two thirds contained literal visuals. Ad #4 is a good example of hard-sell approach dominating advertising space in the 1930s. This ad, which appeared in *Time*, in May 1939, was trying to explain the lower mileage of Plymouth De Luxe Four-Door Touring Sedan as well as the space advantage and the low price, using hard copy and actual photographic description of its advantages.

When advertisers thought that they needed to appeal to consumers' rationality, they used literal visuals, and, conversely, when they thought that they needed to appeal to consumers' emotions they used more symbolic visuals. This is how the contrasting application of two conflicting role of ad visuals looks like. When this result is connected to the types of ad visuals, photograph vs. illustration, it becomes evident that the rational approach employed more photographs while the emotional approach embraced illustrations more. In other words, in the 1920s, when advertisers felt that it was better to make mostly emotional appeals to consumers, symbolic visuals using illustration could accomplish the goal better. On the contrary, in the 1930s, literal

visuals using photographs better served advertisers' goal to make rational appeals to more practical.

CONCLUSION

This study suggests that the impact of national economic conditions in the 1920s and 1930s on the use of ad visuals in the mainstream magazine advertisements seemed visible. As expected, photographs were more prevalent in the 1930s than the 1920s. Also, the use of literal visuals was dominant in the 1930s, when advertisers wanted to speak in detail about the product advertised to persuade the obstinate consumers. In particular, rather than providing image or feeling associated with products, extra efforts had been made to identify and describe their product and their characteristics. All these were found significantly different between the two contrasting periods of time in the early twentieth century. Presumably, one of the fine indicators of social condition, the economic condition dictated how advertising uses its visuals to persuade consumers. This was particularly predictable during the period of prosperity in the Roaring Twenties or the nationwide economic crisis, the Great Depression.

One of the key arguments of the cultural history of advertising contends that advertising should be viewed as mirrors of society, because it is influenced and shaped by the culture and society (Avery, 1991). The society is influenced by technological developments as well as social, economic, and political conditions and, in turn, the societal change is reflected in advertising. In line with the arguments from the cultural history viewpoint, this study supports the thesis that the influence of the economic conditions was reflected in mainstream advertising. The increase in the use of literal

visuals and illustrations in the 1930s suggests that advertising reflected the changing need of consumers and society during the national economic crisis. This result was also supported by comparison of the two periods.

However, interpretation of the results of this type of content analysis always requires a special caution. Rarely are there single-cause phenomena. Obviously, there would be some other factors that might explain the changes in the use of visuals in advertising. New movement of design might have contributed to this trend in that they emphasized simple forms, quality materials, sound construction and, importantly, adding colorful decoration only to satisfy prevailing tastes in the 1930s. Technological development and new social values would also be considered as important variables.

Admitting that this study could not completely attribute the changes in the use of visuals exclusively to the economic conditions, nevertheless it appears reasonable to conclude that at least part of the changes were attributable to them. The function of advertising can be explained in two ways: economic effect and social effect (Potter, 1954). As far as the latter is concerned, the changes in nationwide economic status are worth considering as historical forces that would have affected the society and, as a result, altered what had been contained in advertising.

Table 1

The Role of Advertising Visuals

Literal visuals	Symbolic visuals
· Identification (Brand, Logo, package) · Description (what it looks like, attributes, parts, schematics) · Comparison (between two competitors, before & after) · Demonstration (how to do, use, apply, make)	· Association (lifestyle, typical person, situation) · Association using a character or celebrity · Metaphor (allegorical use, unexpected substitution based on similarity of some feature) · Storytelling (narrative, drama, playlet) · Aesthetics (details become art, pattern, abstraction)

Source: Moriarty, Sandra E., (1986). *The role of Visuals in Advertising*, A paper presented at the International Visual literacy Conference, Madison, WI., October 1986

Table 2

Types of the Products Advertised during the 1920s and the 1930s*

Product Category	'20s	(%)	'30s	(%)	Total	(%)
Auto or auto related**	48	27%	55	35%	103	31%
Finance and Insurance	11	6%	15	9%	26	8%
Household goods	28	16%	14	9%	42	13%
Personal care	9	5%	5	3%	14	4%
Home electronics	10	6%	6	4%	16	5%
Drink (liquor and soft)	5	3%	16	10%	21	6%
Cigarette	7	4%	8	5%	15	4%
Home furniture	6	3%	0	0%	6	2%
Food	17	10%	11	7%	28	8%
Travel	5	3%	6	4%	11	3%
Clothing	19	11%	7	4%	26	8%
Others***	10	6%	16	10%	26	8%
Total	175	100%	159	100%	334	100%

Note: *This classification system is modified by the author from product categories provided by *Ad Age*, December 11, 2000 Issue

**Auto related products include battery, gas, motor oil, and, most importantly, tires.

***Others include plumbing, electricity, engine, machinery, tools, publishers, newspapers, and railroad.

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Table 3

Use of Photographs and Illustrations in the 1920s and the 1930s

Year				'20s				'30s
Visual type	1927	1928	1929	**Total**	1935	1937	1939	**Total**
Photograph	15	19	14	**48**	35	25	19	**79**
(%)	*33*	*28*	*24*	***28***	*51*	*53*	*44*	***50***
Illustration	31	50	44	**125**	33	22	24	**79**
(%)	*67*	*72*	*76*	***72***	*49*	*47*	*56*	***50***

Note: Cell percentages in italics

Table 4

Difference in the Use of Visual Types in the 1920s and the 1930s

	Photograph	**Illustration**	**Total**
1920s	48	125	173
1930s	79	79	158
Total	**127**	**204**	**331***

$X^2 = 17.295$, d.f. = 1, $p < .000$

Note: *Total number of ads with visual was 331 because 3 ads did not contain visuals.

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Table 5

Functions of Visuals

Literal	1920s	%	1930s	%	Total
Identification	32	46%	33	35%	**68**
Description	36	53%	53	56%	**92**
Comparison	0	0%	3	3%	**3**
Demonstration	1	1%	5	5%	**5**
Total	**69**	**100%**	**94**	**100%**	**163**

Symbolic	1920s	%	1930s	%	Total
Association	51	49%	19	30%	**69**
Association with C & C	34	32%	20	31%	**53**
Metaphor	14	13%	13	20%	**26**
Storytelling	3	4%	12	19%	**16**
Aesthetic	2	2%	0	0%	**2**
Total	**104**	**100%**	**64**	**100%**	**168**

Table 6

Difference in the Use of Literal or Symbolic Visuals

	Literal	Symbolic	Total
1920s	69	104	173
1930s	94	64	158
Total	**163**	**168**	**331**

$X^2 = 12.704$, d.f. = 1, $p < .000$

Table 7

Difference in the Use of Visual Types

	Photograph	Illustration	Total
Literal	71	92	163
	43.6%	56.4%	100.0%
Symbolic	56	112	168
	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
Total	**127**	**204**	**331**
	38.4%	**61.6%**	**100.0%**

$X^2 = 3.954$, d.f. = 1, $p < .049$

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Magazines

Time

Fortune

Saturday Evening Post

AD #1

ONLY CHRYSLER CAN GIVE CHRYSLER PERFORMANCE

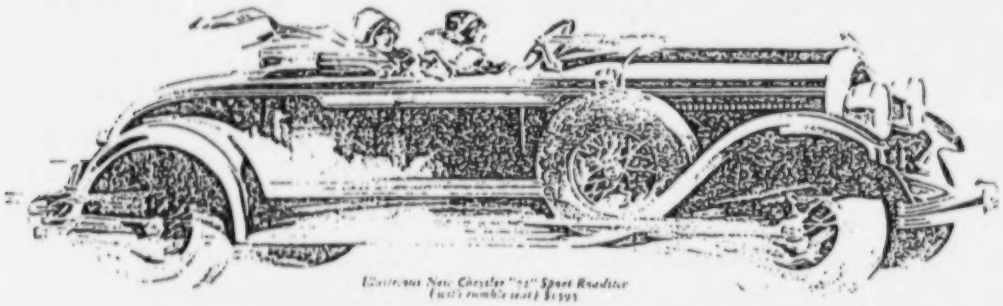


Illustration Now Chrysler "75" Sport Roadster (with rumble seat) $1395

It is not strange that an entire industry should be striving to follow Chrysler's leadership in performance. The sweeping public preference for Chrysler standards of speed, dash and power has given rise to this emulation . . . ¶ Let your mind slip back just four short years. Recall the bulky, cumbersome motor cars of that date . . . ¶ Then contrast the first Chrysler. Dashing in performance, most alluring in its new, low-swung grace and brilliant colors, most modern in its ideas of riding and driving comfort—it marked the first great step in the swift passing of then existing standards . . . ¶ From that day Chrysler's speed, power and dash, Chrysler's smartness of line and tone, Chrysler's luxury of appointment, Chrysler's safety, became the pattern for all . . . ¶ But in the meantime Chrysler's progressiveness—never content with past achievement—has forged on to new heights . . . ¶ Chrysler engineers have pioneered the worthwhile improvements of the past four years—developing these improvements first for their cars of higher price and then, through Chrysler Standardized Quality, enriching beyond comparison the value of its lower-priced cars by the inclusion of such outstanding features . . . ¶ The public has learned that it always obtains greater value in any Chrysler than in any other car costing hundreds of dollars more . . . ¶ It realizes more and more that only Chrysler can give Chrysler performance, Chrysler quality, Chrysler style and Chrysler value—and is buying its cars accordingly!

CHRYSLER

Time, May, 1928

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AD #2

Meet Plymouth's "Ladies' Man"

WE CALL HIM Plymouth's "Ladies' Man" because his sharp eyes and skilled hands check upon those details which feminine eyes will be the first to appreciate.

As each big, all-steel body is completed, inspectors go over the whole new Safety Interior.

The handsome instrument panel...all door-pulls and window-lift handles...designed for safety...are inspected not only for looks, but for smooth operation. Every inch of the deep upholstering is gone over... "head-lining"...curtains...carpets.

And if the car were being delivered to a queen, this final inspection could not be more critically careful. That is why your new Plymouth is not only luxuriously comfortable but beautiful, too...and will continue to stay beautiful for a long, long time.

All through the building of a Plymouth there is equally careful workmanship...equally searching inspection. On the scientific sound-proofing...the rubber body mountings and airplane-type shock-absorbers that keep bumps and vibration away from you...the steering mechanism that is so easy on a woman's hands and arms.

As a matter of fact, *every one* of Plymouth's skilled workers is really a "ladies' man." Because they build into Plymouth cars the comfort, safety and *value*... that women appreciate. The style and beauty...of which every woman is proud.

And every year, more and more women...and men... learn that it's truly a great car...built to last! PLYMOUTH DIVISION OF CHRYSLER CORPORATION.

EASY TO BUY

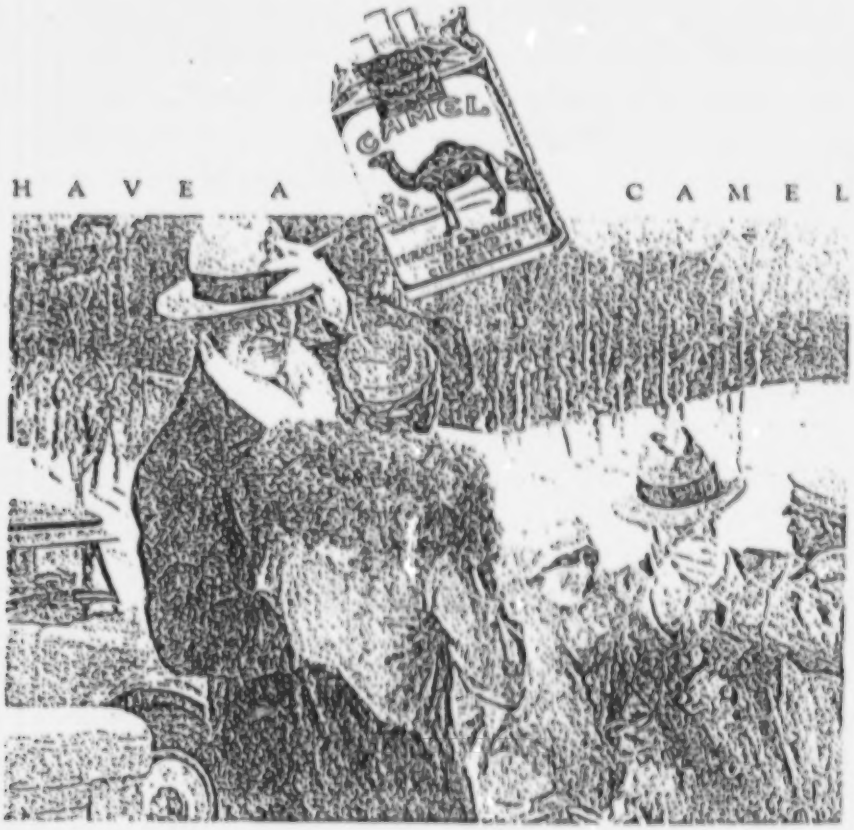
Today, you'll find Plymouth is priced with the lowest... and offers very convenient terms! You can buy a beautiful, big, new Plymouth for as little as $25 a month. The Commercial Credit Company has made available—through all Chrysler, De Soto and Dodge dealers—terms which you will find fit your budget...and make it exceptionally easy to purchase a new Plymouth *today*.

PLYMOUTH BUILDS GREAT CARS

Time, July, 1937

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AD #3



One of life's great pleasures is smoking

Camels give you all of the enjoyment of choice tobaccos. Is enjoyment good for you? You just bet it is.

Time, December, 1927

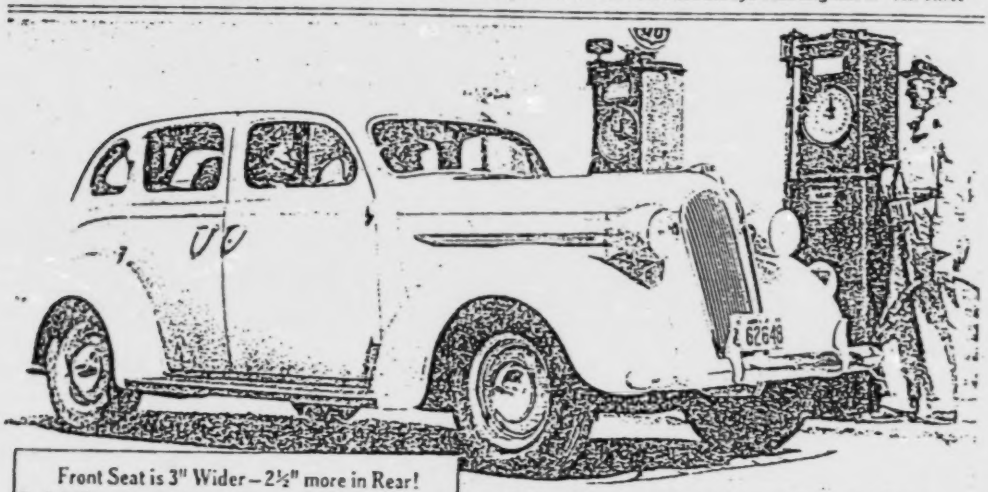
BEST COPY AVAILABLE

AD #4

SEE HOW PLYMOUTH SAVINGS PILE UP!

COSTS LESS!

Owners report 18 to 24 Miles Per Gallon—You'll save on Oil Consumption—Tires—Run Far and Save Money—Plymouth Stands Up so well Repairs are Negligible—It Uses Regular Gas—and Plymouth Resale Value has always been Highest of "All Three"



Front Seat is 3" Wider—2½" more in Rear! Body Pillowed on Rubber—New Airplane-Type Shock-Absorbers—Sound-Proofed Like a Radio Studio—And Priced with the Lowest!

The beautiful, new 1937 Plymouth De Luxe Four-Door Touring Sedan.

HERE'S the biggest and most beautiful of "All Three" low-priced cars! But it's the most economical full-size car in America! Owners report savings on gas, oil and upkeep!

And look at the extra value you get in this 1937 Plymouth!

SAFETY! . . . sensational Safety Interior . . . all-steel body . . . double-action Hydraulic Brakes . . . Improved finger-tip steering . . . prevents "wandering"

COMFORT! . . . new Sound-proofing shuts out noise; new Airplane-type Shock-Absorbers and new body mountings banish vibration and bumps. Also a new Hypoid rear axle, formerly in high-priced cars only . . . plus the famous Floating Power engine mountings.

AND REMEMBER—Plymouth has always had HIGHEST RESALE VALUE of "All Three" low-priced cars. See this new Plymouth before you buy. PLYMOUTH DIVISION OF CHRYSLER CORPORATION

ECONOMICAL! Calibrated Ignition gets utmost power . . . on *regular* gas! Directional cooling and full-length water-jackets give big oil savings!

EASY TO BUY—This Big, beautiful 1937 Plymouth is priced right down with the lowest. The Commercial Credit Company offers very convenient terms through all De Soto, Chrysler and Dodge dealers.

TUNE IN MAJOR BOWES' Amateur Hour—Columbia network—Thursdays, 9 to 10 P. M., E. S. T. Sponsored by Chrysler Corporation.

PLYMOUTH BUILDS GREAT CARS!

PLYMOUTH *The Best Buy of All Three!*

Time, May, 1939

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Do They 'Play Like Girls '?
A look at advertising photographs in four women's sport magazines

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Do They 'Play Like Girls"?
A look at advertising photographs in four women's sport magazines

Abstract

This study examines advertising photographs in four women's sports and fitness magazines, to ascertain the presence of sexual difference and to differentiate between advertising messages in the magazines. Researchers found strong support for sexual difference *Shape* advertisements, and, at the other end of the spectrum, rejection of sexual difference in *Real Sports.* The now-defunct *Women's Sports and Fitness,* and *Sports Illustrated for Women* provided some support for sexual difference in their advertisements.

Do They 'Play Like Girls '?

A look at advertising photographs in four women's sport magazines

Since Title IX was signed in 1972, participation in athletics by girls and women has surged. At that time, one in 27 girls participated in high school sports; in 1998, one-third of American high school girls reported participation in organized sport (SI for Women, 2002). Perhaps much of that growth took place during the 1990s – a decade of explosive growth in the female sports industry. In the space of ten years, professional women's sports teams in basketball, soccer, and now – football –formed. Participation by teen-age girls on their school sports teams increased 31%, and female participants on NCAA teams increased 38%, making them 39% of all NCAA athletes (SI for Women, 2002). Women have even broken into one of the most sacred of male sport bastions: NASCAR.

The interest in women's athletics includes that of sports spectators. The watershed spectator event was perhaps the Women's World Cup final in 1999, which claimed 40 million viewers and a place ahead of the Men's World Cup. Attendance at women's basketball games increased during the 1990s, and it took just two seasons for the WNBA to average 10,000 fans a game. In 1998, the Women's Tennis Association Tour set an attendance record, with more than 3.5 million fans (SI for Women, 2002).

Female athletes, including household names like Venus Williams, Mia Hamm, Michelle Kwan and Marion Jones, have also gained widespread recognition. Women athletes are considered the "innest" of the "in" crowd, according to a 2000 opinion survey (SI for Women, 2002).

But general-interest sports media has been slow to respond to the growing number of women involved in sports. A flip through the *TV Guide* listings for any given weekend is the proof: relatively few women's sports, in comparison to men's. General-interest magazines and newspaper sports sections still virtually ignore women or frame them in terms of sexual difference, robbing female athletes of much of their subjectivity (Walsdorf, 2000). Sexual difference – a step beyond stereotyping, implies that females are "naturally" inferior to men in their ability to participate actively in sport, and, consequently, society (Cohen, 1993). Studies have revealed consistent differences in the way males and females are framed: females are often framed passive, emotional participants mostly in sports considered "feminine" – non-contact, individual, "pretty" sports (Walsdorf, 2000).

Do niche sport magazines aimed at female readers provide a more accurate picture – one that depicts women playing team sports in growing numbers, participating in contact sports, and joining sport competition in increasing numbers? Women's sport magazines emerged in the mid- and late 1990s as a response to increased participation in women's sports (Atkin, 1998; Wollenberg, 2000). But as one writer pointed out, editors have demonstrated "confusion" about "what exactly a new generation of sports-minded women wants to read" (Atkin, 1998, p. 10). Even the names of these magazines seem to give editors pause; the magazines have changed names during the past few years as often as men's professional sport franchises have changed cities. For instance, *Sports Illustrated* launched *Sports Illustrated Women/Sport* in 1997, but within months, changed the magazine's name to *Sports Illustrated for Women*. In 2001, the magazine changed names again, to *Sports Illustrated Women*. A Conde' Nast magazine that started as *Sports for Women* in 1997 changed its name to *Women's Sports and Fitness* in 1998, to emphasize fitness and to be positioned with women's magazines on the newsstands; the magazine folded in September, 2000, with a circulation of about 650,000 (Wollenberg, 2000).

The magazines seem to run the gamut, from sole emphasis on sport (*Real Sport)* to concentration on fitness (*Shape)*. *SI for Women* is the biggest-name women's sports magazine, and somewhere in the middle. It boasts a circulation of more than 1.6 million, although its subscriber base is much lower – about 400,000. The magazine also claims about 15% male readership. Features in the magazine's editorial line-up for 2002 include November's "The Coolest Girl in Sports" and July's "Swimsuit – The 100 Sexiest Men in Sports" (SI for Women, 2002). The magazine mixes sport news from the WNBA and other professional women's leagues with tips on fitness and beauty, like "Wild Beauty: The smartest products to hit the road with" (October, 2002).

In the sense that it offers some aesthetic fitness tips, *SI for Women* might be compared to a long-time fitness magazine for women, *Shape*. The magazine, launched in the early 1980s, has 1.5 million subscribers and offers workout, fitness, diet and beauty tips to readers. It does not report on sports, although it occasionally features female athletes in the magazine (Shape Print Advertising, 2002). Features in the magazine's editorial lineup include "Wine Country Cycling" (October) and "Celebrities work their abs" (August).

Another magazine, one positioned to offer women's sports news without the accompanying aesthetic fitness focus, is *Real Sports*. Launched by Amy Love in 1998, the bi-

monthly magazine has a peak circulation of 600,000, with far fewer subscribers. The magazine is not distributed on newsstands (Media/Advertiser Resources, 2002). Editorial content includes recaps and features on all level of women's sports, from professional league play (WNBA, WUSA) to college and amateur ranks. The magazine runs a sports calendar, features on coaches' "strategies and tactics," and occasional competition-oriented fitness articles, such as workout tips from WNBA player Jennifer Azzi (Media/Advertiser Resources, 2002).

What assumptions have advertisers made about the readers of the spectrum of women's sports magazines, from *Shape* to *Real Sports*? How are the advertising images in these publications approaching readers in a venue that allows them to, presumably, make assumptions about a reader empowered by sport? Advertisers have an opportunity to reach out to women sports enthusiasts in a forum unavailable until fairly recently.

Some writers are optimistic about what they've seen in sports-related advertising for women. One wrote, about the ads from Nike and other athletic companies:

> Market research must have shown that women like be treated as whole human beings, because the new ads have caught on, spun off, and developed into a whole new genre with a sophisticated "feminist" appeal. Aimed at affluent, athletic women, they combine hip, conversational ad copy with full frontal photographs of smiling, active women (Conniff, 1999, p. 54)

Anecdotes are appealing, but may not be accurate. This research looks at advertising photographs in four magazines targeted at women sport and fitness enthusiasts: *Real Sports, Sports Illustrated for Women, Shape* and *Women's Sports and Fitness* to assess the images they present. The magazines were chosen to represent the spectrum, from an aesthetically focused fitness magazine (*Shape)* to magazines that offer news about women's sport achievements (*SI Women* and Real *Sports). WSF,* a women's sports magazine that also tried to capture the fitness market, stopped publishing late 2000, after this study was completed. The data was included to provide perspective and comparison to those magazines that are still publishing. The purpose of this study is to ascertain the presence of sexual difference in advertising photographs aimed solely at women readers who are interested in sport, and to compare the magazines for differences in the way gender is presented in advertising.

Literature review

Sex role stereotypes are found in almost all types of editorial content (print or broadcast) and in the advertising that goes along with it. Advertisements are already considered an

important cultural impact on society, and their influence on definitions of acceptable gendered behavior is difficult to overstate (Plous & Neptune, 1997; Klassen, Jasper & Schwartz, 1993).

Advertisements, by nature, however, are skewed social teachers. They do not reveal reality about gender relations (or other social dynamics), but instead offer lessons on how advertisers believe the culture views and accepts gender (Klassen, Jasper & Schwartz, 1993; First, 1998). Because advertisements rely on the audience to "fill in the blanks" to create meaning, they use stereotypes that can be shared by a mass audience (Kang, 1997; First, 1998).

From the earliest studies of print advertisements in the early 1970s through the most recent research, stereotypical depictions of women and men have been the norm (Belknap & Leonard, 1991). Advertisements "have consistently confined women to traditional mother-, home- or beauty/sex-oriented roles that are not representative of women's diversity" (Kang, 1997). Female role stereotyping in advertising is nearly a universal phenomenon -- images of women in magazine advertisements remain generally weak, childish, dependent, domestic and subordinate (Ford, 1998; Kang, 1997; Artz & Munger, 1999). As famed advertising researcher Erving Goffman has characterized it, gender relationships in ads are often depicted as parent (male)-child (female) (Alexander, 1994).

Although not the first to produce important work on gender and advertising, Goffman's research during the mid-1970s was highly influential, in terms of providing a consistently codifiable way to examine gender and advertising. Goffman (1979) and others recognized that visual images, such as photographs, transmit most of the stereotypes in advertising. Images "carry a great deal of responsibility for the message decoding in an advertisement" (Kang, 1997, p. 981). Goffman's (1979) "frame analysis" provides a way to understand how images transmit messages about gender roles and relations. Frame analysis involves examination of how photographs are contrived: how the characters and products in an ad are displayed. Analyzing the subtle messages ("opaque goings-on") in photos provides insight into how the ad is educating viewers about appropriate gender behavior and interaction. Although researchers have altered Goffman's basic coding categories over the years, the basic premise of frame analysis – examination of the placement and poses of males and females in advertising photographs to determine the messages about gender power – remains.

What has also remained consistent since Goffman's research (1979) are the consistent results of frame-analysis studies. Research by Kang (1997), which examined randomly selected

ads from three top-circulation women's magazines between 1979 and 1991, found that advertising images remained predictably sexist over the years. Kang also found that most advertising provides little opportunity to view males and females in the same setting, because most print ads depict only males or females. Klassen et al. (1993) examined gender portrayals in three magazines (Playboy, Newsweek and Ms.) and found mostly traditional images, sprinkled with some equitable depictions of women. A study of images in a variety of women's magazines between 1985 and 1994 found an increase in the body display of female models (Plous & Neptune, 1997). Another study, of images of women in news magazine advertisements between 1962 and 1992, found that women were consistently seen in fewer ads than men (Stephenson, et al., 1997).

Gender stereotyping is also not limited to images in American advertising; First's (1998) analysis of print ads in Israel found that women are depicted as sex objects and are portrayed in various degrees of subordination. A comparative analysis of Japanese and American print advertisements, however, found that American advertisements are much more egregious in terms of gender stereotypes than ads found in Japan (Ford, 1998).

American ads directed at children have also been found to be more stereotypical than those produced in other countries; Browne's 1998 study of television commercials for children found gender role reinforcement in both Australian and American commercials, but at lower levels in Australian commercials. Generally, ads in both countries featured more boys, and in active roles more often than girls. Girls were framed as less likely to assert control, and more likely to be a peripheral part of the ads (Browne, 1998). Other studies of children's advertising revealed similar results: more boys in ads and a pairing of "sex-appropriate" activities and toys with their associated gender (Smith, 1994; Schwartz & Markham, 1985).

Sport-related advertising

Few studies have examined gender in sport-related advertisements. Cuneen and Sidwell's (1998) research of gender images in advertisements from *Sports Illustrated for Kids* is one such study. Cuneen and Sidwell focused on how gender portrayals were used to frame "sexual difference" in the advertisements. The researchers coded categories that measured the prominence of males and females in advertisements, their level of activity, their prominence in the photo, and the type of sport associated with each gender. Research has demonstrated time and time again that sexual difference is often perpetuated in sport images through the framing of

women as suitable only for individual sports or sports with an aesthetic element (Kane, 1988; Daddario, 1992; Rintala & Birrell, 1984). Cuneen and Sidwell found sexual difference embedded in sport-related ads. More males were depicted, and depicted in prominent roles. Males and females were generally found in different sport settings; advertisers found it appropriate to frame females as more likely to be non-participants or participate in individual, aesthetic-oriented sports such as gymnastics or ice skating, and to frame males as apt to participate in a team setting in strength sports such as football (Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998). Cuneen and Sidwell's (1998) focus on "sexual difference" is a slight variation on a theme central to Goffman's research: the notion that advertising serves the social purpose of convincing its viewers that its images are ideal – that gender depictions are what are or should be (Kang, 1997). Sexual difference as a social construct is perhaps the most basic component of gendered advertising.

Another sport-related advertising study, by Cuneen & Claussen (1999), looked at gender stereotypes in point-of-purchase ads. It also summarized conclusions drawn thus far about gender in sport advertising: a) sport-related advertising is heavily stereotyped by gender; b) if women are actively engaged in sport ads, they are portrayed in leisure or recreational activities; c) women are generally not shown in same-gender competitive sports (like soccer or basketball); d) when women are shown competitively, they are depicted engaged in individual activities; and e) overall, far more men are depicted in sport-related ads. All of these conclusions are related to the notion of sexual difference – the construct in advertising that relates gender differences as a natural, "real" part of life, rather than the contrived social constructs that they are.

Research Questions

This study examines advertisements in four women's athletic magazines, to ascertain whether they fall into the same pattern as Cuneen & Claussen (1999) found in general sport advertising. This study examines *Real Sports, Sports Illustrated for Women*[*], *Shape* and *Women's Sports and Fitness* for differences and similarities in the way gender is presented in advertising photographs, and for the presence of sexual difference in sport ads aimed at an exclusively female audience. Photographs were chosen because of their power as visual magnets and cultural communicators. The power of photographs to convey meaning is already significant, particularly in sport. "They are not innocent records of events …sports photographs offer up an

[*] *Sports Illustrated for Women* changed its name to *Sports Illustrated Women* in 2002. However, this study was done while the magazine retained the "for" in its nameplate. Thus, the reference to the magazine's older name throughout.

account of how the world is (or how the photographer thinks it should be)" (Rowe, 1999, p. 120). Photographs are composed, cropped, manipulated and placed in such a way that they present a subjective message with a veneer of objectivity and "realism" in a vivid, memorable and "easy to read" format (Duncan, 1990).

Coding categories were designed to answer the following research questions:

1. Do *Real Sports, Sports Illustrated for Women, Shape,* and *Women's Sports and Fitness* differ with respect to the use of camera angle (straight, down, up) in advertising photographs? Does use of camera angle emphasize sexual difference?
2. Do *Real Sports, Sports Illustrated for Women, Shape* and *Women's Sports and Fitness* differ with respect to the use of motion in photos (active, passive) in advertising photographs? Does motion in photos emphasize sexual difference?
3. Do *Real Sports, Sports Illustrated for Women, Shape,* and *Women's Sports and Fitness* differ with respect to the use of type of sport (individual, team, none) in advertising photographs? Does the use of sport type emphasize sexual difference?
4. Do *Real Sports, Sports Illustrated for Women, Shape,* and *Women's Sports and Fitness* differ with respect to the use of sport category (strength, high risk, aesthetic, neutral, none) in advertising photographs? Does the use of sport category emphasize sexual difference?
5. Does *Real Sports, Sports Illustrated for Women, Shape,* and *Women's Sports and Fitness* differ with respect to the use of product type in advertising photographs? Does the product type emphasize sexual difference?

Method

Content Analysis

Content analysis was the research method chosen to answer the research questions presented. Content analysis is an effective way to discern dominant textual meaning; relationships of the most salient clusters of images and information may be gauged to accurately represent the dominant messages (Entman, 1993). Commonly defined as an objective, systematic, and quantitative discovery of message content, content analysis has also been determined as an effective way to examine media images of minority or historically oppressed groups (Berelson, 1971; Stacks & Hocking, 1998; Dominick & Wimmer, 1991). While content analysis has been criticized by some scholars for its failure to account for an audience's

interpretation of a message, it has been acknowledged by advertising researchers as a way to explore construction of advertising messages (Leiss, Kline, & Jally, 1986).

Data Collection

Real Sports, Sports Illustrated for Women, Shape, and Women's Sports and Fitness served as the sampling unit for this study. Individuals in photos were coded separately and served as units of analysis. Advertising photographs in 6 issues of each magazine, from spring 1999 to summer 2000, were examined. Only photographs featuring human (nonfamous and celebrity) models were studied; photographic advertising images that contained artistic or non-human figures were excluded. A total of 1,593 photo images were coded.

Recording Instrument

The researchers generated a recording instrument in order to answer the research questions under examination. The categorical variables analyzed included: a) gender (male, female); b) race (black, white, other); c) photo angle (straight, down, up); d) motion in photo (passive, active); e) type of sport (none, individual, team); f) category of sport (none, strength, high risk, aesthetic, neutral); and g) type of product (equipment/clothing, cosmetics, diet aides, tobacco/alcohol, automobiles/transportation, household products, food/beverage, other). See Table 1. The categories and definitions were taken from earlier work done on sport media research (Lynn, Hardin, Walsdorf & Hardin, 2002; Cuneen & Sidwell, 1998; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990).

Twelve sports administration graduate students taking a course in gender issues volunteered to serve as coders as part of a class project. Coders were trained over three, two-hour sessions using issues of *Real Sports, Sports Illustrated for Women, Shape,* and *Women's Sports and Fitness* that were not a part of the research data set. Coders were provided with a codebook and recording sheet on which to record their perception of each categorical variable. The unit of analysis was people in advertising photographic images. All seven variables were coded for each unit of analysis.

A critical component of content analysis is to ascertain the degree of reliability of the coding, to insure that the data reflect consistency in application of the coding schemes and not the interpretations of individual coders. Intercoder and intracoder reliability were reached using the cover through page 10 of the January 1998 issue of *Shape* and the Fall 1997 issue of *Sports Illustrated for Women.* Holsti's reliability formula was used to assess coder reliability (Stacks &

Hocking, 1998). Intercoder reliability scores for the training sample ranged from 90 to 100 percent. To correct for chance agreement, Scott's Pi scores of .60 and higher were achieved. Intracoder reliability, established by comparing coding sheets on identical data (cover through page 10 of the January 1998 issue of *Shape* and the Fall 1997 issue of *Sports Illustrated for Women*), completed by the same coder 24 hours apart, ranged from 96 to 100 percent. Once reliability was reached each coder (N = 12) coded advertisement photographs in two magazines over a three-week period.

Data Analysis

Frequency distributions for the categorical data (six issues of four magazines) were obtained using SPSS Statistical Package 9.0. These frequencies were used to create grouping variables to indicate the combination under which each score was achieved. Separate two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests were used to determine the presence of main effects for each factor considered separately but also for the interactions between (or among) the factors. Tukey post hoc comparisons among the means were used to determine if the difference was significant. Tukey's test was chosen because of it's conservative nature and therefore providing fewer significant differences. The level of significance was set at $p < 0.01$.

Results

Overall Number of Photographs

Due to the size of the magazines, the overall number of photographs contained in each magazine was different, with *Real Sports* having significantly fewer advertising photographs. (See Figure 1). Most individuals in advertising photographs were found in *SI for Women*; 579 images were coded from that magazine. In contrast, *Real Sports* contained 190 images.

Gender

The frequencies for gender revealed that the overall number of advertising photographs were of females (See Figure 2). However, the proportions of females to males differed. For instance, males were 25% of the images in *Women's Sports and Fitness (WSF)* ads, but less than one-fifth of the images in *Shape* or *SI for Women*. Males made up less than 5% of photo depictions in *Real Sports*.

Although the variable does not directly relate to sexual difference as explored in this research project, race was also coded. There was a significant main effect of the race factor ($F(2,60) = 110.49$, $p < 0.01$). Regardless of magazine, the frequency of whites in advertising

photographs was significantly higher than that of blacks or others. Each magazine varied with respect to the way race was represented in the advertising photographs. There was a significant interaction effect of magazine and race on the dependent variable of race frequency ($F(6,60) = 4.13, p < 0.01$). In *SI for Women* there was a 3:1 ratio of whites to blacks in advertising photographs, while in *Real Sports* the ratio was 4:1. There was a paucity of advertising photos that represented a race other than black or white (See Figure 3).

An example of the dominance of white females in the ads studied can be found in the June/July issue of *Real Sports*. Only three black females are pictured in advertisements. Two of the ads are issue ads; one advertises tickets for a soccer event.

Team vs. Individual Sports

Each magazine varied with respect to the type of sport portrayed in advertising photographs. There was a significant interaction effect of magazine and sport type on the dependent variable type of sport frequency ($F(6,60) = 5.461, p < 0.01$). *Real Sports* used more photographs of people depicted in team sports (M = 18.5) per issue than individual (M = 8.5) or none (M = 4.7). *SI for Women* also used more photos of people depicted in team sports (M = 40.2) per issue but also used the none category frequently (M = 34.5) followed by the individual category (M = 21.8). The majority of photographs of people in *Shape* and *WSF* were depicted in the none category, with the fewest being represented by the team sports category (See Figure 4).

An example of this finding is found by comparing summer issues of *SI for Women* and *WSF*. Many ads in *SI for Women* capitalized on the success of the U.S. women's soccer team; the team was featured in 10 ads. Other ads in *SI for Women* also used team sports like basketball. In other ads (notably those for beauty products), no sport was represented. The *WSF* issue contained mostly ads associated with no sport, but ads associated with sport were connected to individual sports like tennis, swimming or running.

Passive vs Active Poses

There was a significant main effect of the motion factor ($F(1,40) = 8.909; p < 0.01$). Regardless of magazine, passive motion was used more than active motion. Each magazine varied with the way in which it used motion in photographs. There was a significant interaction effect of magazine and motion on the dependent variable motion frequency ($F(3,40) = 7.071; p < 0.01$). *Real Sports* had more active than passive photographs of persons by a ratio of 2:1, while *SI for Women, WSF* and *Shape* had more passive than active photographs (See Figure 5).

A comparison between *WSF* and *Real Sports* issues during the spring of 2000 is illuminating. While *WSF* contains ads from Nike and other athletic apparel companies, the ads contain posed models (sitting or standing, staring blankly into the distance). Cosmetic ads feature the same kinds of poses, except the models are staring into the camera. The *Real Sports* ads – mostly for upcoming sporting events – almost all contain a female athlete in action.

Category of Sport

There was a significant main effect of category of sport ($F(4,100) = 43.58$, $p < 0.01$). Regardless of magazine, the none and neutral categories were significantly different than the strength, high risk, and aesthetic categories of sport but not significantly different from each other. Overall, people in all four magazine advertising photographs were portrayed slightly more often in neutral sports (M = 31.3) than in the none (M = 28.8) category.

Advertising photographs in each magazine differed with respect to category of sport. There was a significant interaction effect of magazine and category of sport on the dependent variable of category of sport frequency ($F(12, 100) = 4.49$, $p < 0.01$). All four magazines rarely used the strength, high risk, or aesthetic categories of sport in their advertising photographs. *Real Sports* and *SI for Women* used the neutral category of sport most often while *Shape* and *WSF* used the none category most often. Advertising photographs of people in *Real Sports* were shown in the neutral sports category five times more often than in the none category. In *SI for Women* the ratio of neutral to none was not nearly as large (See Figure 6).

Photographic Angle

There was a significant main effect of the camera angle factor ($F(2,60) = 127.32$, $p < 0.01$). By far, the camera angle used most often in this sample of magazine advertising data was the straight angle (M = 59.4). Slightly more advertising photographs were taken looking up on individuals (M = 4.2) than was taken with the down angle at the subject (M = 2.7).

Each magazine varied with respect to camera angle used in advertising photographs. There was a significant interaction effect of magazine and camera angle on the dependent variable camera angle frequency ($F(6,60) = 5.57$, $p < 0.01$). All four magazines used the straight angle for advertising photographs more often than the up or down angle. *Real Sports* rarely used the up angle while *SI for Women, Shape* and *WSF* rarely used the down angle (See Figure 7).

Type of Product

There was a significant main effect of the product type factor ($F(7, 160) = 24.74$, $p < 0.01$). Post hoc tests revealed that the product type advertised most frequently in all magazines was the other category and the clothing and equipment category. The other category was most frequently represented by women's NCAA and professional sport events/championships.

Each magazine varied with respect to product type advertised. There was a significant interaction effect of magazine and product type on the dependent variable of product type frequency ($F(21, 160) = 4.78$, $p < 0.01$). *WSF* and *Shape* used far more advertisements for cosmetics than the other magazines. *Shape* had significantly more advertising photographs associated with diet aids than the other magazines.

WSF and *Shape* had the most people depicted in advertisements for household products, like cleaners (M = 1.5). The products advertised mostly in *Real Sports* and *SI for Women* were of the other (mostly sporting events) and clothing and equipment categories. Clothing and equipment includes athletic apparel and shoes (See Figure 8).

Discussion

Advertising and sexual difference

A primary goal of this study was to ascertain if advertising in sport magazines geared almost exclusively at women readers would carry forward many of the stereotypical images found in earlier studies.

They have, for the most part. After examining these ads, it is difficult to propose an alternative to the generalizations of Cuneen and Claussen (1999), with the exception of male dominance in sport-related advertising. The ratio of males in the ads was still high (one-fifth to one-quarter of all ad characters, except for *Real Sports*), considering the target market and magazine genre. Another surprise, considering the genre as a sport magazine, was the level of activity by women in the ads. Advertisements in all magazines (except one, *Real Sports)* depicted more passive than active models. Passivity of females, an irony in magazines touting active lifestyles, is an indicator of sexual difference.

As Cuneen and Claussen (1999) might have predicted, sport type and category favored women as either non-participants or as participants in individual sports, for the most part. It was encouraging to see that *Real Sports* wasn't the only magazine that depicted a majority of women in team sports; *SI for Women* also depicted more women in team than individual sports.

However, advertisements in *SI for Women* showed more women not associated with any sport, than with an individual sport. *Real Sports* was the only magazine that showed fewer women in the none category than the other two (individual and team). The lack of sport by most of the magazines, and the emphasis on individual over team sports by two (*WSF* and *Shape*) is an indicator of sexual difference.

Other variables studied, such as camera angle or category of sport, did not lend themselves to any definitive conclusions regarding these advertisements and the framing of gender. The neutral category of sport casts a wide net (covering sports from tennis to soccer), and, not surprisingly, most advertising images fell into this category or the none category. The neutral category likely needs to be reconfigured for future studies, to offer more refinement in categorizing the sports depicted.

The product type category was also illuminating, but not surprising. *Shape's* niche as a fitness-oriented magazine makes it a "natural" for diet aid advertising; whereas clothing and equipment ads would be expected in magazines like *Real Sports* or *SI for Women*.

Differentiating the magazines

It is clear, from looking at the results of the content analysis, that advertisements in the magazines studied seem to fall along a "continuum" of sexual difference. Advertisements in *Shape*, a magazine that has clearly carved a niche for itself as a women's fitness magazine, offer the most support of sexual difference. The magazine started before the 1990s, when women's sports emerged as such a force.

But the adherence to sexual difference in the other magazines – launched after 1996 (dubbed the "Year of the Woman" after the stellar performance of female U.S. Olympians) – is troubling. After all, if women's sport magazines can't provide a place for empowering, culture-leading images of female athletes, where will these images be found? It doesn't yet look like advertisers want to provide them, for the most part.

A look through *Real Sports* – at the other end of the continuum – demonstrates that advertisers are able to provide images that reject sexual difference. Results of this study indicate that the magazine clearly presents a different kind of female sporting image for readers. The ads relay that image through photos that show women in mostly active team sports. (Perhaps the real equivalent to *SI* is not *SI for Women,* but is instead *Real Sports.*)

This isn't to say that ads in *Real Sports* are completely free of gender stereotypes. One ad that is downright abrasive in a magazine full of otherwise active females is a Nike ad. While it depicts hockey, a "non-feminine" sport, it does so by showing a passive shot of a female taking a break on the ice. The tagline reads, "I like pink."

Somewhere along the continuum are *WSF* and *SI for Women*. The images in both seem to indicate that the magazines were, at the time of the study, trying to straddle the gap between the traditional fitness/beauty magazine and the general-interest sports magazine. Both, for instance, included more passive women in advertisements, and a significant percentage of advertising images that were not associated with any sport. *SI for Women* showed more team sports, and fewer men in its ads, than *WSF*.

Straddling the branding fence is difficult for a magazine to do, and it seems that eventually a magazine must choose a solid identity, or it will go to the way of *WSF*. Already, *SI for Women*'s circulation numbers have been disappointing in comparison to early projections (Wollenberg, 2000). Perhaps *SI for Women* should consider strengthening its sports orientation. It's more empowering to women, and perhaps more marketable. The continued readership for *Real Sports*, along with the surge in interest in women's sports, should indicate that a serious sports magazine (minus the fitness and beauty trimmings) is a gamble worth taking. *SI for Women* has the marketing muscle not available to the independently published *Real Sports*.

Further research

Three major areas of further research emerged during this study:

1. *The need to tie images with reader response.* As mentioned earlier, a valid criticism of content analysis is that it fails to account for an audience response to advertising messages. This seems an especially important factor when considering implications of the stark contrast in the construction of gender in the sport advertisements studied. Initial research on response by adolescent females to sport magazines seems to indicate a positive body-image correlation (Harrison & Fredrickson, 2001); it would be most interesting to see if the correlation changes as readers are presented with women's sport magazines along the spectrum of sexual difference. Other studies could measure response and attitudes from older (mid-20s to late-30s) readers, the more likely consumers of these sport magazines.

2. *The need to examine the magazines' editorial content.* The idea that these magazines fall along a continuum of sexual difference can't be fully realized without examination of the

photos used in the magazine's editorial content. While photos are the logical next step, examination of textual messages (in ads and articles) would is important, to understanding the themes about women's place in sport and society within these magazines.

3. *The need to examine images of race more fully.* While we can say that the advertising images were overwhelmingly white in all of the magazines studied, we cannot say more, because this study did not focus on the interplay between race and sexual difference in the advertisements. However, we suspect that there is a relationship, and believe further study is necessary. While the literature on gender in sports media is plentiful, there is less research on race in sport media, and barely a drop on the interplay between race and gender. This must change, if we are to more completely understand the messages, and potential role in society, for visual images in sport media.

Table 1: Categorical Variable Definitions

Variable	Category	Definition
Gender	Male	Indicated if coding a male subject in the photo.
	Female	Indicated if coding a female subject in the photo.
Race	Black	Indicated if coding a black subject in the photo.
	White	Indicated if coding a white subject in the photo.
	Other	Indicated if coding a subject other than black or white.
Photo Angle	Straight	The photo is taken from a straight on position.
	Up	The photo is taken looking up at the subject.
	Down	The photo is taken looking down at the subject.
Motion in Photo	Passive	Subject appears obviously posed in the photo; motionless; or appears only from the neck up.
	Active	Subject is clearly in motion or in a posture that suggest they are about to take action.
Type of Sport	Individual	An individual competition sport (i.e., track, golf).
	Team	A team competition sport (i.e., soccer, basketball)
Category of Sport	Strength	Characterized by contact sports (i.e., football, boxing) in which one opponent overpowers another by superior physical strength or endurance (i.e., heptathlon).

(table continues)

Variable	Category	Definition
	High-risk	Sports in which the danger posed to the athlete is produced primarily by the physical environment (i.e., racecar driving, rock climbing, horse racing).
	Aesthetic	Sports wherein success is determined primarily on the basis of grace and proper form (i.e., diving, gymnastics, figure skating).
	Neutral	Contains all other sports (i.e., basketball, track, golf).
Type of Product	Equipment/Clothing	Sporting goods supplies, apparatus, or apparel.
	Cosmetics	Make-up, shampoo, perfume, body lotion or any item relating to beautifying the physical appearance
	Diet Aids	Weightloss products and programs, weight management, diet aids to raise the metabolism naturally (herbal products) or other forms of medications

(table continues)

Table 1, continued

Variable	Category	Definition
	Tobacco/Alcohol	Any type of alcoholic beverage including wine, liquor, or beer; any type of tobacco products including cigarettes, cigars, etc
	Automobiles/Transportation	Cars, motorcycles, all terrain (4-wheelers), motor or sail boats, airlines, cruises, etc. Transportation that is primarily driven by an engine
	Household Products	Cleaning, laundry, food preparation, lawn & garden, or services related to the beautification or maintenance of the interior or exterior of a home
	Food/Beverage	Food or drink products (i.e., granola bar, milk, candy).
	Other	Contains all other products (i.e., NCAA and professional sport events).

Figure 1: Overall number of photo images

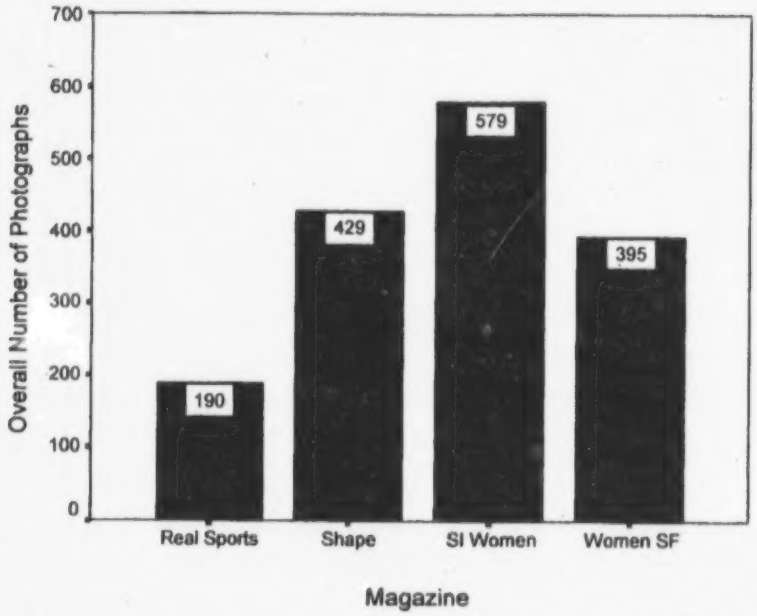

Figure 2: Number of photo images by gender per magazine

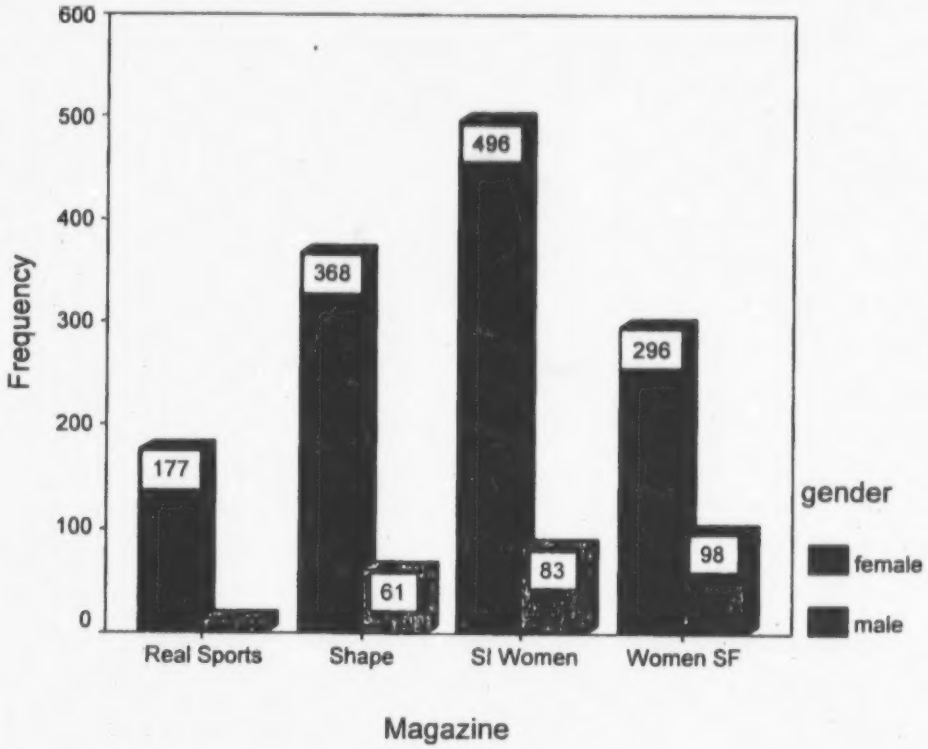

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Figure 3: Race mean frequency by magazine

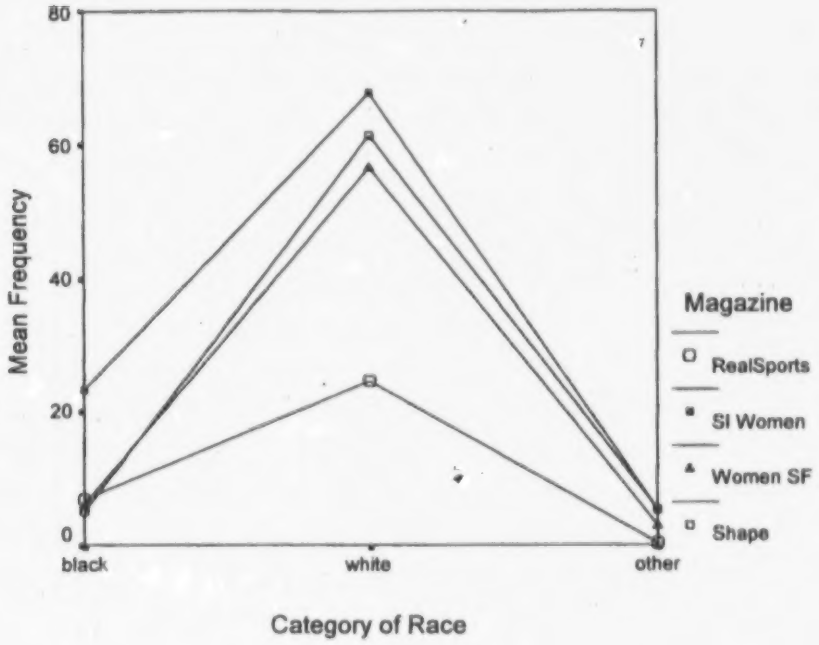

Figure 4: Type of sport frequency by magazine

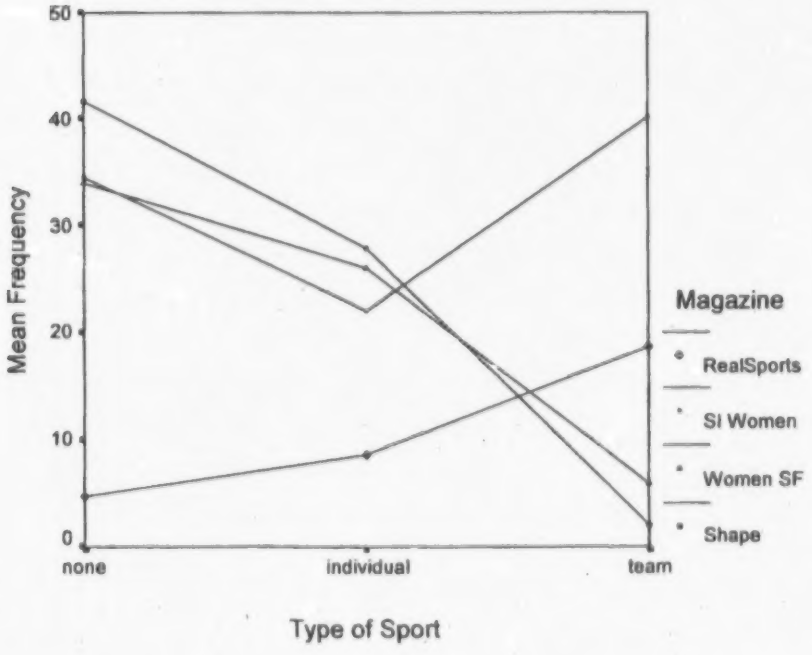

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Figure 5: Type of motion mean frequency by magazine

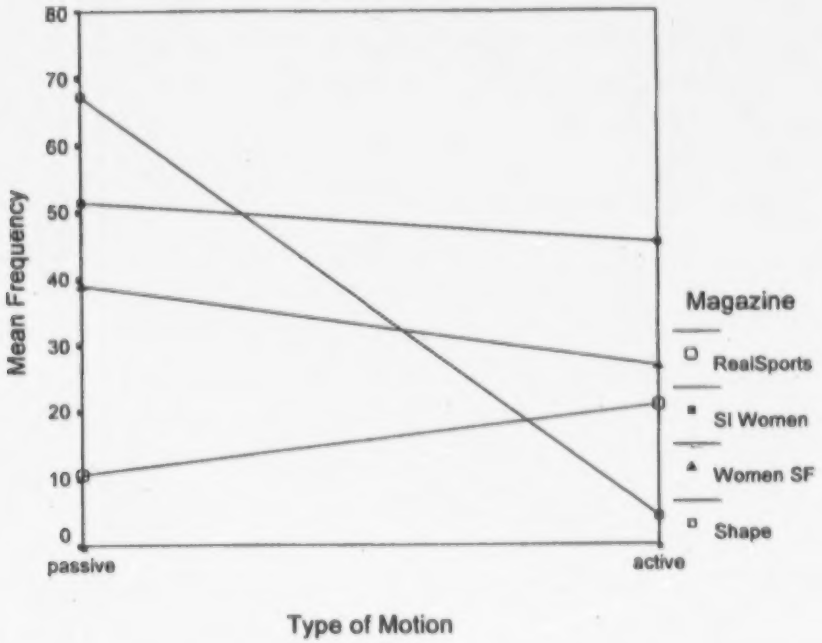

Figure 6: Category of sport mean frequency by magazine

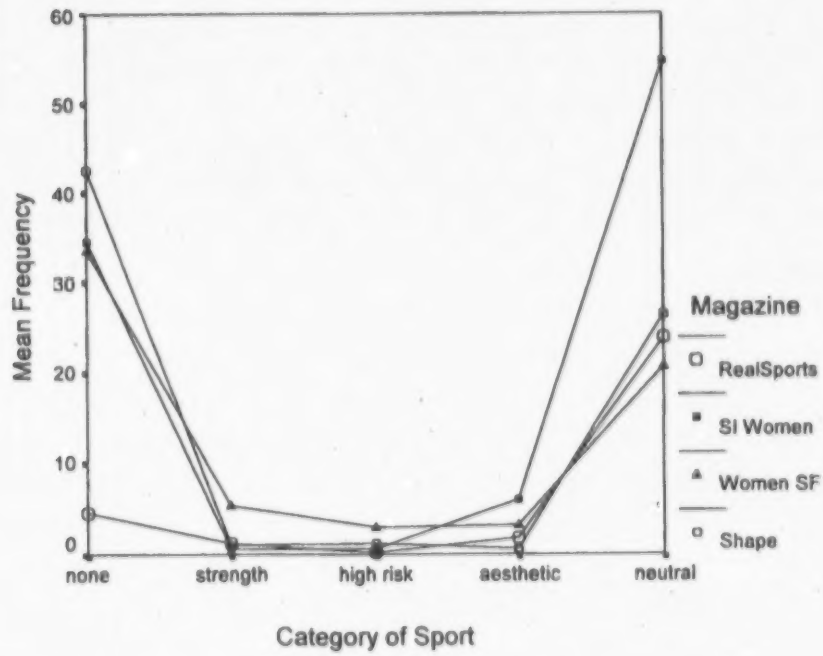

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Figure 7: Camera angle mean frequency by magazine

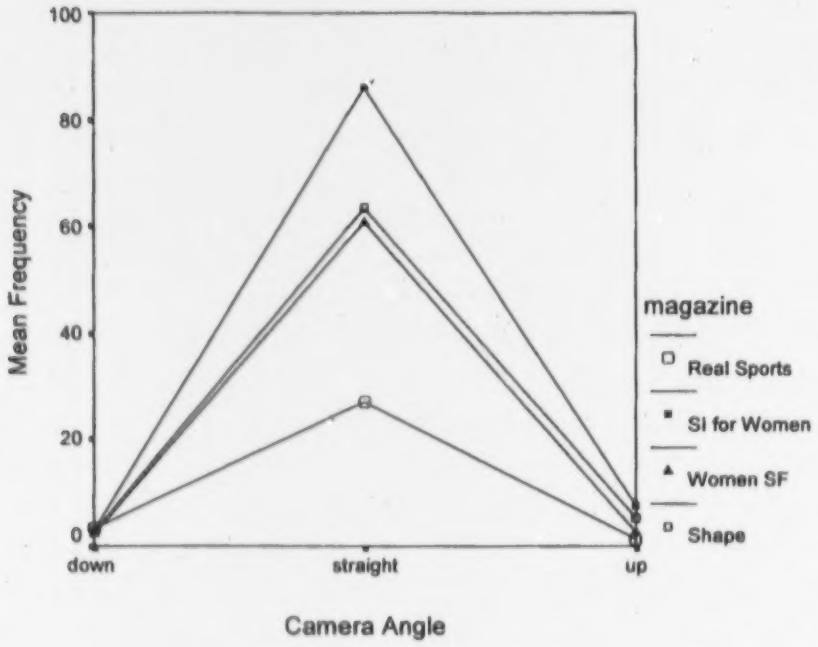
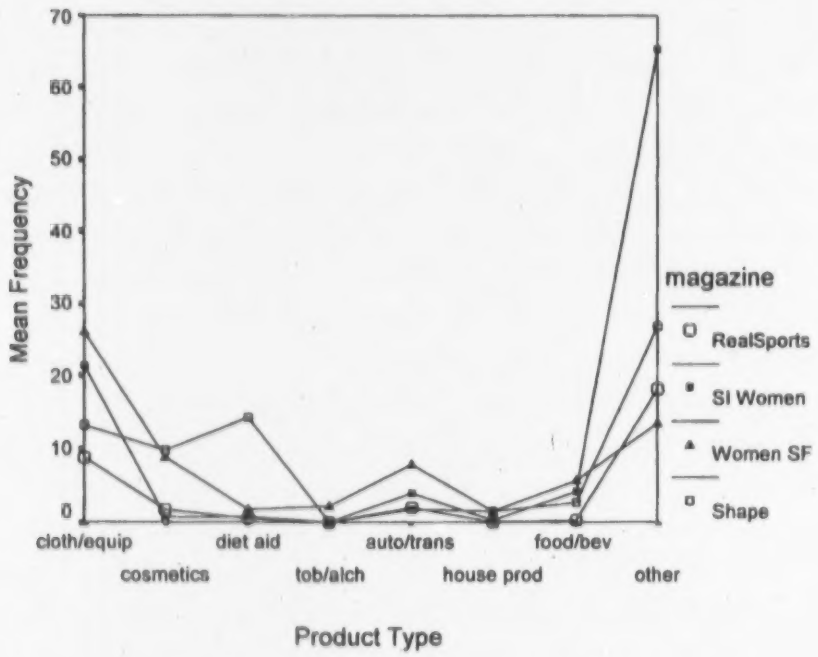


Figure 8: Product type mean frequency by magazine



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Mag

Seeing Red:

The *Reader's Digest* during the McCarthy Era

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"The pro-Eisenhower *Digest* became one of the most McCarthyite publications in the country without ever publishing a single article on Senator Joseph McCarthy himself-acting-in fact, as if the most controversial man in America did not exist, and yet routinely fanning the flames of his anti-Communist wrath."[1]

[1] John Heidenry, Theirs Was the Kingdom: Lila and DeWitt Wallace and the Story of The Reader's Digest: (New York: Norton, 1993) 249.

Abstract:

A qualitative and quantitative analysis of the *Reader's Digest* from 1950 to 1954 finds that the popular magazine's fanatically anti-Communist tone was often emphasized through articles that originated at the *Digest,* rather than condensed reprints from other periodicals. Articles dealing with the threat of Communism in the U.S., justification for intervention in Communist countries, conditions behind the Iron Curtain, and military preparation are featured. Current events make historical research on such propaganda relevant.

Introduction

The events of September 11th have led to a moderate resurgence of paranoia in the United States against "subversives" among people who appear to be of Arab or Middle-Eastern descent. From actual attacks, to rough and unnecessary questioning by law enforcement, to plain fear, Americans are being challenged not to let anger and ignorance impact our everyday lives and those of our neighbors who "look" like "terrorists". The massive waves of patriotism that have swept over the news media, the advertising industry, and the government propaganda machine are reminiscent of the World War II and Cold War eras, when we faced a new and different kind of war. Today, we are in, as President Bush terms it, another "new war." This makes it beneficial, perhaps even imperative, to re-examine a little-talked-about period in our history, when Americans damaged unnecessarily the reputations and careers of some innocents because of paranoia: The McCarthy era.

Anti-Communist propaganda played a central role in the early 1950's, and one of the most important players in that media blitz was the *Readers Digest*. It was one of the most pervasive and anti-Communist publications, yet never ran a single article on McCarthy himself. It's also a magazine often overlooked by academic researchers. Consider the following:

In the September 1950 issue of *Reader's Digest*: "Why We Must Outlaw the Communist Party." "A conspiracy to overthrow our form of government should no longer be tolerated. That the Communist Party and every member of it, is working toward the overthrow of the United States government is as well known as a political fact can be." [2]

[2] Max Eastman, "Why we Must Outlaw the Communist Party," Sept. 1950: 42-44.

In the February 1951 issue of *Reader's Digest*: "The FBI Wants You". "You have been asked by the President to help in the most important man hunt in our history – the rooting out of Communist spies in America."[3]

In the August 1952 issue of *Reader's Digest*: "Red Spy Masters in America." "Over the past 30 years the Soviets have created one of the most formidable spy systems ever directed at the civilized world. Nowhere are their agents more everlastingly busy than in the United States."[4]

In the January 1953 issue of *Reader's Digest*: "We are Protecting Spies in Defense Plants!" "How the Red Bosses of a United States trade union pick up secrets for Moscow" [5]

In the October 1954 issue of *Reader's Digest:* "How the Kremlin Treats its Own." "A former Soviet Secret Police Colonel tells for the first time the ghastly true story of the mass murder of Russian citizens."[6]

These articles provide but a miniscule sampling of the anti-Communist and paranoia-inducing rhetoric that the *Reader's Digest* printed between 1950 and 1954. The most widely circulated periodical in the world at the time, the *Digest* claimed that over 17 and a half million copies were bought each month across the globe.[7] When the publication began accepting advertising in 1955, the initial audit by the Audit Bureau of Circulation found a United States circulation of more than ten million.[8]

It would be difficult to overestimate the popularity of the magazine in the early 1950's. Its power as both an opinion-leader and as a reflection of American values in foreign countries was unparalleled at the time. In his 1946 book on the history of the *Digest*, John Bainbridge notes: "As a publishing phenomenon, the *Reader's Digest* compares favorably with the Holy Bible. Except for Scriptures, nothing ever published

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[3] Ken Jones, "The FBI Wants You," condensed from *This Week*, Feb. 1951: 65-68.
[4] J. Edgar Hoover, "Red Spy Masters in America," Aug. 1952: 83-87.
[5] Representative Charles J. Kersten, "We are Protecting Spies in Defense Plants!," Jan. 1953: 27-31.
[6] Charles W. Thayer, "How the Kremlin Treats its Own," (condensed from *Life),* Oct. 1954: 29-33.
[7] *Reader's Digest*, April 1953: cover page.
[8] James Playsted Wood, Of Lasting Interest: The Story of the Reader's Digest: (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company, 1958) 246.

has been circulated more widely than the *Digest*."[9] Bainbridge also provides insight into the general feeling surrounding the magazine at the time:

> "The *Digest*, like the Bible, has a way of inspiring devotion that sometimes borders on fanaticism. Actors have said the *Digest* gives them faith and cures nervousness and that they therefore read it while waiting for their cues. Doctors have said they read it while delivering babies, farmers while milking, pilots while flying, businessmen while shaving and bathing, old women while churning, and young women while nursing their infants." [10]

As absurd as such testimonials seem today, they prove useful in explaining why the *Digest* is an important publication to study.

The Digest: Condensed

In 1922, DeWitt Wallace, entrepreneurial son of a Presbyterian Minister and a playboy of sorts, came up with what was at the time a revolutionary concept: Condensing and compiling (what he considered) the best articles from other periodicals into one monthly volume. Wallace's magazine, the *Reader's Digest*, basically played off of the reputation of other established magazines and touted itself as a "best-of" publication. The idea caught on, and by 1979 the *Digest* had a circulation of 18.3 million in America alone, second only to *TV Guide*. Thanks to multiple foreign editions, worldwide circulation grew to over 100 million. In the *New York Times* September 8th, 1953 edition, *Digest* circulation is stated as 10,484,065 in the United States, and 869,769 in Canada, for a total of 11,353,834.[11] The *Digest* was then going to one out of every four families in the United States and Canada. [12]

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[9] John Bainbridge, Little Wonder: Or, the Reader's Digest and How it Grew (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1946) 1.
[10] Bainbridge, 2-3.
[11] Wood, 246.
[12] Ibid.

In his 1993 comprehensive history of the *Digest* and its founders, John Heidenry notes of the magazine during the early 1950's: "Apart from the radio, the *Digest* remained the single largest and most influential instrument of mass communications in the country...certainly among millions of voters."[13]

Before long the magazine branched off with a youth edition for local schools, which was basically the same as the domestic edition, but excluded articles on sex, or off-color jokes. Its circulation was 600,000 in 1946. [14] The magazine also added a Braille version and a phonograph version. Spanish, Portuguese, Swedish, Finnish, and Danish language versions were all introduced, and quickly became the largest selling magazines in their respective languages.[15]

Wallace is called an enigma by many, and a genius by equally as many. "Wallace is the most successful editor in history because he knows probably better than any other man alive what people want to read." [16] His formula was heavy on moralistic advice, and promoted self-improvement, hard work, conservatism, simplicity, and optimism. Wallace retained tight control over the editorial content of the magazine until his retirement in the mid 1970's[17]

In the 1930's Wallace became bored with simply condensing and reprinting, and began to add original articles. Many of the anti-Communist articles discussed in this study fall into this category. Also in the 1930's, in an effort to maintain the *Digest's* reputation as a reprint magazine, Wallace began "planting" articles in other publications, and then reprinting them. Wallace's own staffers would write the articles, and then the

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[13] Heidenry, 247.
[14] Bainbridge, 13.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Bainbridge, 5.
[17] Sharp, 21.

Digest would often pay for the reprint rights. Plants began to make up more and more of the magazine's content. A study by statistician George W. Bennet, found that in 1944 and 1945: "Three out of every five *Digest* articles now originate in the *Digest's* offices. The *Reader's Digest* is no longer a digest."[18]

Kent MacDougall, in a 1972 critical overview of the *Digest*, noted that in 1966, "Only 41 percent of the articles in its U.S. edition last year were genuine digests of materials from other periodicals, or from books or speeches. Another 34 percent were "originals" written directly for the *Digest*, and 25 percent were "plants."[19] MacDougall notes that the *Digest* planted articles in 40 publications in 1966, ranging from the *Irish Farmers' Journal* to the *Saturday Review, Harper's* and the *New York Times Magazine*.[20] MacDougall quotes Harry L. Harper, Jr. a *Digest* Vice President and Executive Editor, as saying, "This placement system helps preserve the reprint character of the *Digest*."

In a 1965 analysis in the *Columbia Journalism Review*, Reo M. Christenson claims that roughly 70 percent of the *Digest's* articles, including a number of those dealing with public affairs issues, were either staff-written or planted, and the majority were conservative in nature. "These practices help insure (sic) that the *Digest* offers its own philosophy, not a sampling of American opinion."[21]

This policy led to unusual situations. Once, the *Digest* ran an article 468 words longer than the publication it was "condensed" from. Other times, articles might appear in the *Digest* several weeks before the other magazine printed the "original."[22]

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[18] Bainbridge, 61.
[19] Kent. A. McDougall, "Reader's Digest," in *The Press: A Critical Look From the Inside* (Princeton, N.J.: Dow Jones Books, 1972) 69-70.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Reo M. Christenson, "Report on the Reader's Digest," Columbia Journalism Review (Winter, 1965) 30-36.
[22] Ibid.

One *Digest* writer is quoted as saying he'd find out where something had been printed when: "You meet a friend and he says 'I see you're writing for the *Rotarian*.'"[23]

The *Digest* presents its articles in objective language. As Sharp notes, many stories are personal, but are written with factual language. [24] This "objectivity" is further emphasized by the magazine's format. The *Digest* "creates the illusion that the editors were diligently culling the cream of the current crop of magazines without regard for political content."[25] However, given the wide use of original articles and plants, as well as the dearth of articles from left-leaning magazines, [26] this is obviously not the case.

An examination of the magazine during the McCarthy era is important for another, somewhat ironic reason. Wallace was "a strident anti-communist with a low opinion of Joe McCarthy."[27] In fact, according to Bainbridge:

> "The pro-Eisenhower *Digest* became one of the most McCarthyite publications in the country without ever publishing a single article on Senator Joseph McCarthy himself-acting-in fact, as if the most controversial man in America did not exist, and yet routinely fanning the flames of his anti-Communist wrath."[28]

This fact is what prompted an historical study of the *Reader's Digest* from 1950-1954. The time period parallels McCarthy's most controversial period; from the Lincoln Day speech in February of 1950 that began his crusade, to his eventual censure by the U.S. Senate in December of 1954.[29]

This research is based on the following thesis statement: The *Reader's Digest* effectively championed McCarthy's anti-Communist cause from 1950-1954, without ever

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Sharp, 36.
[25] Heidenry, 53.
[26] Sharp, 37.
[27] Heidenry, 21.
[28] Heidenry, 249.
[29] Lawrence N. Strout, Covering McCarthyism: How the *Christian Science Monitor* Handled Joseph R. McCarthy, 1950-1954 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999) xi.

running an article directly about the Senator himself. Furthermore, a large percentage of the articles preaching anti-Communist sentiment did not originate in other publications, but rather within *Digest* offices.

The *Digest* began its crusade against Communism prior to 1950, and it certainly did not stop the rhetoric in 1954. However, Joanne Sharp, in her content analysis of the *Reader's Digest* from 1922-1994, found that from 1950 to 1953 there were more articles about the Soviet Union or Communism than during any other time period; about 185. From 1954-1957 there were roughly 155 such articles.[30]

For this study, each issue of the *Digest* from January of 1950 through December of 1954 was examined thoroughly for articles relating to the Soviet Union or Communism - either in America - or across the globe. Articles were plentiful, and were separated into the following broad categories for ease of analysis:

1. Articles about the threat of Communism within America's borders
2. Articles about the evils of life behind the Iron Curtain
3. Articles justifying war or intervention in foreign countries to stamp out Communism
4. Articles focusing on U.S. military preparation for war against Communism

Articles in the first category specifically addressed the threat on U.S. soil (labor unions, church groups, government, etc.). Articles in the second category focused mostly or wholly on conditions behind the Iron Curtain. Admittedly, the third category (justification for intervention) could include stories in the other categories, however for this study, only articles that specifically advocated intervention in a Communist society, be it military or diplomatic, were included. Finally, the fourth category included articles that specifically addressed U.S. military preparedness.

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[30] Joanne Sharp, Condensing the Cold War: Reader's Digest and American Identity (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 84.

Given the sheer popularity and staying power of the *Reader's Digest*, it is surprising that more academic research has not been done on the publication. Joanne Sharp, who has done the most comprehensive study on the magazine notes that it is probably because the *Digest* is considered a middlebrow publication.[31] In fact, Claussen has examined the *Digest's* role in the shaping of anti-intellectualism by the American Media.[32] Sharp, in her book Condensing the Cold War: Reader's Digest and American Identity, analyzes the *Digest* in attempt to understand how representations of Russia's "Evil Empire" served to create roles for American citizens. This study differs from Sharp's in that it focuses more comprehensively on the McCarthy era and examines trends within the *Digest's* content that are indicative of political and ideological bias.

Smith and Decker-Amos found in a1985 content analysis that overall, the *Digest's* basic worldview hadn't changed dramatically since the magazine's founding in 1922.[33] On the issue of communism, though, there was variation: "The percentage of articles presenting the communists as a menace to world peace was quite low shortly before World War II, was quite high during the Cold War era of the early 60's, and dropped during the early 1980's."[34] From 1940-41, the researchers found that 2.9% of the articles were anti-communist; from 1960-61, this rose to 10.7%, then dropped to 6.0% in 1980-81.[35] In a 1955 analysis of the *Digest,* its French version *Selection*, and a similar French digest publication *Constellation*, Ginglinger noted that the *Digest* was heavy on political

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[31] Sharp, 177 (Sharp goes on to note that middlebrow culture has missed on recent academic trends in general, and that middlebrow is somewhat ambiguous in that its aim is both to entertain and to educate. I personally find that this point proves the importance of studying such popular culture periodicals).
[32] Dane S. Claussen, "Anti-Intellectualism as Constructed by American Media: Popular Magazine Coverage of Higher Education (1944-1998)" Ph.D diss., University of Georgia, 1999
[33] Ron F. Smith and Linda Decker-Amos, "Of Lasting Interest? A Study of Change in the Content of the *Reader's Digest*," *Journalism Quarterly* 57 (Spring 1985), 127-131.

[34] Smith and Amos, "Of Lasting Interest?" 131.
[35] Smith and Amos, "Of Lasting Interest?" 130.

and moral social values, some of which transferred to the French version. "As in the *Digest*, the political category in *Selection* emphasizes first the universal value of democracy; then the necessity of building up a defense to resist aggression, and finally, the evil of the Communist control in Eastern Europe and the Far East."[36] Ginglinger did point out, though, that Selection also seemed to reflect the French "view of life," as well.[37]

In addition to being criticized for planting articles and for a staunch anti-communist tone, the *Digest* has been accused of printing misleading advertising,[38] misleading stories,[39] and failing to print letters from readers.[40] The *Digest* was included in Peters' study on advertisements emphasizing societal problems in popular magazines, which found only a minor percentage of advertisements featured such issues, and of those, more than half were self-serving.[41]

Other literature on the periodical includes mostly biographical studies of the magazine's founders, Lila and DeWitt Wallace. John Heidenry's Theirs was the Kingdom: Lila and DeWitt Wallace and the Story of the *Reader's Digest*, is the most comprehensive and historically inclined of those, and provides a measure of analysis on the publication's content:

> "The *Digest* had made its mark by going in a reverse direction - by finding the lowest common editorial denominators in order to appeal to as many readers as possible, instead of breaking new literary ground and earning the

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[36] Genevieve Ginglinger, "Basic Values in 'Readers Digest,' 'Selection,' and 'Constellation,' *Journalism Quarterly* 32 (Winter 1955) 56-61.
[37] Ginglinger, "Basic Values in 'Readers Digest," 61.
[38] Arthur E. Rowse, "A Warning From the Mailman," *Columbia Journalism Review* (Winter 1967/68) 24-26.
[39] Don Stillman, "Attack on the Taxman," *Columbia Journalism Review* (Winter 1967/68) 26-27.
[40] Stillman, "Attack on the Taxman," 27.
[41] William H. Peters, "Two Measures of Print Advertising's Social Responsibility Level," *Journalism Quarterly* 50 (Winter 1973) 702-707.

admiration of a discriminating elite." [42]

Works such as Little Wonder: Or, The Reader's Digest and How it Grew by John Bainbridge, Of Lasting Interest: The Story of the Reader's Digest, by James Playsted Wood, and Peter Canning's American Dreamers: The Wallaces and Reader's Digest: An Insider's Story reinforce this view. Canning and Wood both particularly write of the *Digest*'s conservative, optimistic, simplistic, common-man-can-conquer-all approach. This helps to explain the publication's mass appeal -- and the importance of analyzing its content.

Lawrence N. Strout, in his book Covering McCarthyism: How the Christian Science Monitor Handled Joseph R. McCarthy, 1950-1954, provides justification for the chosen time period. Edwin Bayley's Joe McCarthy and the Press examines coverage of the era in newspapers more broadly, and focuses a good deal on opposition to McCarthy in the press. The newspapers studied are in stark contrast to the *Digest*, which paid McCarthy himself no attention, but promoted his crusade vigilantly.

An article in Journalism Quarterly, "Newspaper Photo Coverage of Censure of McCarthy," by Larry Z. Leslie found that four major newspapers were "not unfair" in their coverage of McCarthy's censure.

Historical Background

In conducting an historical research analysis of the Reader's Digest during the McCarthy era, it is important to understand the cultural and political environment, as well as major events of the time period.

[42] Heidenry, 21-22.

The McCarthy Era

> "Historians have noted the roots of American anti-Communism in what they refer to as the nation's counter subversive tradition: the irrational notion that outsiders (who could be political dissidents, foreigners, or members of racial and ethnic minorities) threatened the nation from within."[43]

There are a variety of factors that likely contributed to the paranoia that swept over America after World War II: FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's obsessive anticommunism,[44] McCarthy's widely publicized accusations about communist spies in the government, The Korean War, tales about life behind the iron curtain, The Alger Hiss trial, the Rosenberg case, the House Un-American Activities Committee, Red Channels, concerns about China; the list goes on. Consider the following timeline, as featured in Ellen Schrecker's The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents:[45]

1950
January 21 – Alger Hiss convicted of perjury in second trial
February 2 – Klaus Fuchs arrested for atomic espionage
February 9 – Joseph McCarthy's famous speech in Wheeling, West Virginia alleges presence of Communist agents in State Department
May 23 - Harry Gold arrested for atomic espionage
June 15 - David Greenglass confesses to espionage and names Julius Rosenberg
June 22 – Red Channels blacklists alleged Communists in entertainment industry
June 25 - Korean War begins
June-July – Tydings Committee investigates McCarthy's charges and concludes he is a fraud
July-August – Julius and Ethel Rosenberg arrested for espionage
September 22 – McCarran Act forces registration of Communist organizations

1951
February 17 – FBI inaugurates Responsibilities Program to weed out Communism in state employment

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[43] Ellen Schrecker, The Age of McCarthyism: A Brief History with Documents (Boston: Bedford Books, 1994) 9.
[44] Schrecker, 11.
[45] Schrecker, 252-254 (Mostly verbatim – however, I have omitted several events which I deemed less important).

April 5 – Julius and Ethel Rosenberg sentenced to death
June 20- Second round of Smith Act prosecutions follows sweeping arrests of party leaders across the country

1952
December- Johns Hopkins Professor Owen Lattimore indicted for perjury

1953
March- Joseph Stalin dies
June 19- Rosenbergs executed
July 27-Korean War ends

1954
April-June – Army-McCarthy hearings
August 19 - Communist Control Act authorizes Subversive Activities control Board to register Unions as Communist-infiltrated
Dec. 2 – Senate Censures McCarthy

It's obvious that the American public was primed to receive anti-Communist messages, given the current events of the period. This likely made the Digest's articles resonate even more with readers.

Findings

Articles were categorized into four categories: the threat of communism within America's borders, the evils of life behind the Iron Curtain, justification for war or intervention in foreign countries to stamp out Communism, and U.S. military preparation for war against Communism.[46] 162 total articles were coded, or an average of 2.7 per issue of the *Digest*. 79 of the 162 were traditional, condensed reprints from other publications. However, it is worth noting that a number of these may have really been

[46] This study does not claim to be completely comprehensive; although every issue from 1950-1954 was thoroughly examined, it would be impossible in the space allowed to analyze each and every article. Instead, it provides a qualitative analysis of what the author considered the more noteworthy articles, as well as quantitative analysis of total articles coded.

plants, as that is difficult to track. 83, or 51 % of the total articles, were not traditional condensed reprints from other magazines.

Of those 83 articles, 63, or 76% were original articles from staffers, 13, or 15 % were book condensations, 5 were condensed from speeches, one was from a radio program and one was a reprinted newspaper advertisement.

The graph below indicates the breakdown for each of the four categories; analysis follows.

Category	Total Articles in Category	Traditional Reprints	Not From Other Magazines
Within U.S. Borders	47	22	25
Behind Iron Curtain	45	27	18
Justification for Intervention	53	22	31
Military Preparation	17	8	9

Within America's Borders

There were 47 total articles in this first group, which is unsurprising, considering the fear surrounding the American Communist Party at the time. The most intriguing finding was the sheer number of articles that were not condensed reprints. 21 were written by staffers or other contributing authors, three were condensed book sections, 22 were actual reprints of magazine articles, and one was a reprint of a paid advertisement in the *New York Times*. This means that 25, or 53% of the articles in this group were not condensed from other periodicals. Of the reprinted articles, there were mainstream publications such as *U.S. News and World Report*, *Life*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*. However, small-scale publications such as the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, *American Legion Magazine* and *Air Force* were also prominent.

97 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Reading through the many articles about the threat of Communism to America's government institutions, economy, social system, and religious institutions, one gains a better understanding of the type of fear that was both reflected and deepened in the pages of the *Digest*. According to the magazine, no section of American life was free from the threat of Communism.

Government Institutions

Stories about espionage and corruption in the U.S. government were common. Many of these were originals, or were featured in lesser-known magazines, which creates the suspicion they may have been "plants." In addition, many of the *Digest's* special condensed book sections featured stories of this type. One example was "Seeds of Treason: The Story of the Hiss-Chambers Case," which promised "the biography of an era when gilt-edged Communism was both a fashionable avocation and a negotiable bond, and – under the cover of smart cocktail parties and fancy fronts – the real Communists were systematically betraying the U.S."[47] The *Digest* provided a first-person account of the trial by Whittaker Chambers himself in "I Was the Witness," which included the denunciation of Communism by the former Party member:

> "Within the next few decades will be decided whether all mankind is to become Communist, whether the whole world is to become free, or whether, in the struggle, civilization as we know it, is to be destroyed. How did it become that this movement, once a mere muttering of Political outcasts, became this immense force that now contests the Mastery of mankind?"[48]

Most of these stories are about actual criminal trials, such as "The Trial of the Eleven Communists," about the conspiracy case against eleven "bosses" of the American

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[47] Ralph DeToledano, Victor Laksy, "Seeds of Treason: The Story of the Hiss-Chambers Case," May. 1950: 135.
[48] Whittaker Chambers, "I Was the Witness," May. 1952: 115.

Communist Party,[49] or "The Crime of the Century: The Case of the A-Bomb Spies," by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover (though probably ghost-written by a *Digest* staff member, as most of his articles reportedly were).[50] This specific Hoover piece concerned the case history of Klaus Fuchs and Harry Gold, and promised "a staggering revelation of how a foreign power, espousing a doctrine of hate, frightfulness and slavery can unfasten the loyalties of free men and women and turn them into traitors." [51]

The *Digest* also printed paranoia-inducing articles about spies that were not based on criminal trials. For example, "We are Protecting Spies in Defense Plants," which detailed "How the Red Bosses of a U.S. Trade Union Pick up Secrets for Moscow:"[52]

> "America's most sensitive electronic plants are wide open to Soviet Spies. You say this is fantastic? It is a fact. Because of an appalling loophole in our laws, Soviet agents can blueprint our electronics production at will. Firms doing hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of secret work for the armed forces must tolerate them-because these Moscow agents operate under the guise of a labor union."

The *Reader's Digest* also pushed its conservative agenda by supporting various government agencies working to "root out Communists", such as the FBI, the CIA, and the House Un-American Activities Committee. One such article was "The Men the Reds Hate Most," which strongly supported the work of the HUAC, denouncing the criticism and abuse of the Committee, and calling it the "one effective enterprise in exposing the Kremlin's agents, spies and stooges in our midst."[53] The article lists the committees' many "accomplishments," and claims that "ordinary folk" are afraid to speak out for it, for fear of being branded "reactionary" or "fascist." "The rock bottom fact is that the

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[49] Sidney Shallett, "The Trial of the Eleven Communists," Aug. 1950: 59-72.
[50] Heidenry, 247 (Most of Hoover's stories were reportedly written by Stanley High or Frederic Sondern, Jr.).
[51] J. Edgar Hoover, "The Crime of the Century-The Case of the A-Bomb Spies" May. 1951: 149.
[52] Rep. Charles J. Kersten, "We are Protecting Spies in Defense Plants!" Jan. 1953: 27-31.
[53] Eugene Lyons, "The Men the Reds Hate Most," Nov. 1950: 109

slanderous campaign against it (HUAC) is led and fed by Communists and fellow-travelers."[54] The *Digest* also featured an article by an HUAC member who discussed what it was like to be "on the receiving end of Communist smears." He tried to legitimize the committee: "The HUAC does not summon people for questioning by drawing names out of a hat. In all but a few cases these men and women are known to the Committee – as Communist collaborators."[55]

The *Digest* was a staunch FBI supporter, at least during the early 1950's. In another bylined as Hoover's, "Red Spy Masters in America," the Bureau Director claimed that "over the past 30 years the soviets have created one of the most formidable spy systems ever directed at the civilized world, and nowhere are their agents more everlastingly busy than in the United States."[56]

> "At first Moscow's spies penetrated factories and laboratories, in order to grab our most advanced manufacturing processes. Day and night the Russian spy machine is digging for facts about scientific research and development of atomic energy, electronics, and aeronautics; the strength, equipment, strategy and tactics of the armed forces of the United States; the operations of U.S. intelligence and counter-intelligence agencies; weaknesses in American public and private life that can be exploited for intelligence or propaganda purposed; national and international policies of the U.S. government ." [57]

The article also encouraged readers to report any suspicious activity to the FBI.

In addition to stories by Hoover, the magazine supported the agency's work through other articles such as: "Why I No Longer Fear the FBI," which expressed support for wiretapping and other forms of spying as necessary in order to "preserve our

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[54] ibid.
[55] Rep. Gordon H. Scherer, "I was the Target," July. 1954: 129.
[56] J. Edgar Hoover, "Red Spy Masters in America," Aug. 1952: 83-87.
[57] Ibid.

freedom."[58] Four years later, in "Let's Unshackle the FBI," the *Digest* continued its campaign in support of wiretapping: "To strengthen our protection against those who would destroy our country or kidnap our children, we must permit the FBI to use evidence collected by wiretapping." [59]

The *Digest* also solicited the American public's cooperation in the FBI's anti-Communist campaign in articles such as "The FBI Wants You," which informed readers "How each of us can help in the nation's war on spies. You have been asked by the President to help in the most important manhunt in our history – the rooting out of Communist spies in America." [60]

> "All of us should be deeply concerned about this threat to our national security. The Communist Party in the United States is the great reservoir from which spies and saboteurs in this country are drawn. Likely candidates are investigated, trained in espionage and sabotage techniques, and tested on minor missions. Scores of Americans have been sent to Moscow for intensive training in "partisan warfare and the science of civil war; the destruction of food supplies and pubic utilities; how to wreck trains and how to employ chemicals for setting fires. The Americans who take this intensive training don't stay in Moscow; they come home; they're here now." [61]

Keeping in mind that the avid *Digest* reader is probably sufficiently nervous about the threat of Communist spies, the magazine attempted to provide some reassuring stories about the Army's Counterintelligence Corps, who were working to discover disloyal Americans. However, "CIC: The Army's Spy-Hunters" would also alarm anyone who might have even mildly socialist leanings:

> "The CIC may be anybody or do anything. The waiter at your table may be an agent, and so may the father of those eleven children down the street, or the sergeant checking your pass at the Army

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[58] Morris L. Ernst, "Why I no Longer Fear the FBI," Dec. 1950: 135-139.
[59] Blake Clark, "Let's Unshackle the FBI," April. 1954: 114.
[60] Ken Jones, "The FBI Wants You," condensed from *This Week*, Feb. 1951: 67.
[61] ibid.

> Pier. Or if you are a spy, the burglar who cracked your safe last night may have been CIC."[62]

The American Economy

The *Digest* also attacked Communism in the wallet, in an attempt to appeal to Americans "logically," rather than with fear. Articles included warnings about the dangerous American counterpart of the British Fabian Socialist who hides behind the mask of "National Planning," and will lead America "down the dark road that has led many Europeans to their doom.[63] "Where the Menace to Freedom Lies" warned readers about the pseudo-liberalism that is invading society that may lead to Democratic Socialism or Communism.[64] Perhaps the most startling example of this type of article was "From Washington Back to You?" by William Hard, a *Digest* staff member whom the *Digest* referred to as "a veteran observer." Hard examined the electric power industry and presents it as an example of the growing trend of government ownership in the United States. He cites a long list of factories and buildings owned by the federal government, and then quotes President Eisenhower: "If we allow this constant drift toward the central ownership to continue, ownership of property will gradually drift toward the central government, and finally we shall have to have Dictatorship as the only means of operating such a huge organization."[65]

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[62] Thomas M. Johnson, "CIC: The Army's Spy-Hunters," condensed from *Blue Book*, Jan. 1952 : 104.
[63] John T. Flynn, "The Road Ahead: America's Creeping Revolution," Feb. 1950: 1-19.
[64] Bruce W. Knight, "Where the Menace to Freedom Lies," condensed from *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine.*, April. 1950: 39-42.
[65] William Hard, "From Washington Back to You?" May. 1953: 15-19.

The American social system

"We are containing Communism in Europe. What are we doing to protect ourselves closer to home?" asks J.P. McEvoy in "Trouble in Our Own Backyard."[66] This appeal is typical of articles aimed at creating fear about the loss of - or arousing patriotism about - social institutions and standards. Max Eastman called for the Communist party to be outlawed in order to protect American society. [67] Senator Robert Taft of Ohio termed the Communist movement "The Dangerous Decline of Political Morality,"[68] and Bernard Barchup referred to the struggle between "Communism and Individualism, between the system which feels like the State should be master, and that system, ours, which feels the State should be the servant of the individual," as "Spiritual Armageddon."[69] In the same vein, the *Digest* appealed to Americans' sense of patriotism with articles about protecting our sacred honor against Communism across the world, and in the U.S. [70] In "The War We Are Losing" George Gallup claims that the most important conflict during the next 50 to 100 years is the fight to win the minds of men, and makes the case that the U.S. should undertake a program that would cost about five billion dollars to spread anti-Communist and pro-democratic ideals. Gallup calls for the creation of a new "Department of World Relations" and the stockpiling of arms.[71] In a similar article, New Hampshire Senator Charles W. Tobey points out:

> "Most great civilizations have fallen not through external aggression; but through domestic corruption. The real challenge is to the individual, who must realize that America has given him everything he has in material things; who must realize that it is now his privilege and duty to

[66] J.P. McEvoy, "Trouble in Our Own Backyard," Aug. 1950: 7-11.
[67] Max Eastman, "Why We Must Outlaw the Communist Party," Sept/ 1950: 42-44.
[68] Sen. Robert Taft, "The Dangerous Decline of Political Morality," Nov. 1950: 153-156.
[69] Bernard Barchup, "Spiritual Armageddon is here- now," March. 1951: 59-60.
[70] Edgar Ansel Mowrer, "Our Lives, Our Fortunes, and our Sacred Honor," March. 1951: 121-124.
[71] George H. Gallup, "The War We are Losing," condensed from *National Municipal Review*, April. 1951: 121-124.

fight the forces undermining the traditions that made America great." [72]

The magazine also promoted legal reform by way of anti-Communist rhetoric in "Fog Around the Fifth Amendment." The piece covered the case of Nathan Silvermaster, a suspected Communist, who invoked the Fifth Amendment 250 times during his HUAC hearing. It argued that the Amendment is providing him and others like him protection.

> "The list includes hundreds of former government employees, United Nations staff members, union officials, schoolteachers and University Professors. The doctrine was originally developed as a means of protecting citizens against the legal consequences of physical torture....Some liberals...call it witch hunting when a Government employee is discharged for refusal to answer loyalty questions. The Communists have brought such confusion into the matter that some people have abandoned common sense." [73]

The *Digest* went beyond the social and legal structures, and took aim at the individual family's security in "Target: MOM," which claimed that "The Reds war of words is aimed at the next of kin of captured fliers." Middletown U.S.A. was "marked down in the Communist book to be hit, and hit hard."[74] The article described how the Chinese People's Volunteer Army was directing a letter writing campaign at the parents of POW's, urging them to support the end of the Korean War.

It is worth noting that many of the articles in this category came from speeches by lawmakers, and that most of the others are originals. The few condensed articles are – by and large - not from well-known publications. This is indicative of the *Digest's* motive of spreading anti-Communist rhetoric, rather than concerning itself with finding the best articles from the magazines of the period.

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[72] Sen. Charles W. Tobey, "This is Our Greatest Danger," condensed from The Return to Morality, Jan. 1952: 139-142.
[73] James Burnham, "The Fog Around the Fifth Amendment," condensed from *American Legion Magazine* April. 1954: 21-25.
[74] John F. Loosbrock, "Target:MOM," condensed from *Air Force*, May. 1953: 91-93.

Religious Institutions

Most of the articles concerning the threat of Communism and Socialism in religious institutions were *Digest* originals. Two of the most inflammatory were written by the same author, *Digest* in-house writer Stanley High. His work included articles such as "Methodism's Pink Fringe," which was an expose on the Methodist Federation for Soviet Action that was allegedly spreading anti-capitalist sentiment and was discrediting America both within her borders and abroad. It's pointed out, but underplayed in the article that the group is a very small. However, High plays up the fact that the group is "vocal and growing."[75] In High's other noteworthy article he asked: "How Radical are the Clergy?" In the piece, he analyzed the ideological similarities between Christianity and Communism. He focused on an American Institute of Public Opinion (Gallup) Poll done for the *Digest* that reportedly found that a militant minority of Protestant Clergymen was bringing the church under suspicion. [76]

In keeping with the *Digest's* usually optimistic approach, the magazine featured Norman Vincent Peale, a Protestant Preacher, editor of *Guideposts*, and personal friend of Wallace who wrote many original articles for the magazine. His most notable contribution of the period was "Let the Church Speak up For Capitalism," an attempt to rally Christians to fight back against the growing trend among some religious to speak out against Capitalism and oppressive regimes. [77]

In an effort not to leave Catholic readers out, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archbishop of New York penned an article "In Answer to our European Critics," which

[75] Stanley High, "Methodism's Pink Fringe," Feb. 1950: 134-138.
[76] Stanley High, "How Radical are the Clergy?" April. 1951: 118-120.
[77] Norman Vincent Peale, "Let the Church Speak up for Capitalism," Sept. 1950: 126-130

defended HUAC and cast suspicion on Americans who plead the Fifth Amendment when asked about Communist involvement.

> "There are many individuals who have seriously compromised themselves by a flat refusal to state whether they are now or have been Communists. It is impossible for me to understand why any American should refuse to declare himself free of Communist affiliation unless he has something to hide. In that event he deserves to be held in suspicion because he constitutes a threat to our country's freedom."[78]

The Archbishop went on to state that the inquiries are necessary, and "thank God they have begun while there is still time to do something about it." [79]

Behind the Iron Curtain

Studies of Eastern Europe between 1945 and 1989 have shown that living conditions for many citizens were deplorable, both physically and mentally. The *Digest's* coverage of this was in many ways factual, but was highly sensationalized. There were 45 total articles in this group, and it is unsurprising, considering the subject matter, that the highest percentage of traditional condensed reprints were found in this category. 27 were taken from other periodicals. Again, mainstream publications such as *Life*, *Time* and *Collier's* were prominent, but foreign periodicals such as *Die Woche, Christ und Welt,* and *Frankfurter Hefte* were also featured. Ten articles were written by Digest staffers or contributors, seven were condensed book sections, and one was taken from a radio program.

Of course, the sheer volume of stories about life behind the Iron Curtain kept the issue on the reader's mind – as well as creating more animosity toward Communism. Articles of this nature can be divided into two simple sub-categories: negative stories

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[78] Francis Cardinal Spellman, "In Answer to Our European Critics," April. 1954: 26-27
[79] ibid.

about the evils of life under Communism, and positive stories about escapes or citizens who stood up for Democratic values.

Negative Stories

There were a number of negative stories about life behind the Iron Curtain. Many articles focused on abuses by border guards and secret police. For example, one 1950 article applauds the American soldiers' respectful treatment of German citizens, and decries the "mass raping, looting and killing which the Soviet Soldiers began on the first day of the occupation." [80] In "How the Kremlin Treats its Own," the *Digest* features "A former Soviet Secret-Police Colonel who tells for the first time the ghastly true story of the mass murder of Russian citizens." [81] In "Grief is their only weapon," the *Digest* asks, "Will 25,000 kidnapped children ever be returned by the Communists?" The story centers on a massive kidnapping of Greek children by Communist guerillas in 1948. [82]

More descriptive was a 1952 article about the mass deportation of Hungary's merchants, industrialists, civil servants, lawyers, journalists and mechanics, whose only crime was to be a member of the middle class. "For this, they were sent to farms and villages where they could be cursed and kicked by Communist officials and forced to work ten hours a day on a ration that rarely exceeded 1000 calories." Reportedly, "even the bed-ridden were taken," and there were "more than 1000 suicides in eight weeks." [83]

The *Digest* highlighted the East German Secret Police, or Stasi, in "Wilhelm Zaisser: The Red Himmler." The article described the activities of the Stasi leader's

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[80] Norbert Muhlen, "What the Germans are Learning from Ami and Ivan," condensed from *The New Leader*, May. 1950: 97.
[81] Charles W. Thayer, "How the Kremlin Treats its Own," condensed from *Life*, Oct. 1954: 29-33.
[82] George Kent, "Grief is their Only Weapon," Aug. 1950: 109-111.
[83] George Kent, "The Slow Death Comes to Hungary," condensed from *The New Leader* March. 1952: 105-109.
*Note that George Kent authored the previously cited work as an original for the Digest, and then authored the second ostensibly for the New Leader. This makes me quite suspicious that this article is a "plant."

agents, who "arrest, torture and execute at his discretion…watch the population, censor the mails (sic), telephone and telegraph, and compile the huge central file which contains the record of almost every East German."[84]

The deplorable social and living conditions were also a popular topic, and no doubt aroused sympathy among Digest readers, while serving to solidify the view that Communism was bad for every aspect of society. On the education system in Soviet Russia: "We were to make the school children believe that starved and oppressed workers all over the world were looking to Soviet Russia for liberation. We were to shape a generation of fanatics prepared to justify mass murder." [85] On everyday life in Russia: "Russia today is an armed camp, and Moscow is its headquarters, "[86] and "revealing the Soviet citizen through its wash lines, its twelve dollar nylons; its cardboard hams in shop windows: its swarming forgotten beggars; its sexless women laying brick and shoveling sand; its people who carry sad little bouquets of weeds with them as they walk the streets."[87] Other articles highlighted the decay throughout Russia, the lack of adequate transportation, the lack of progress, and the overcrowding: "I found eleven families living in one small church,"[88] claimed one witness.

Working conditions were similarly deplored, with citizens described as "puppets." One article included a diagram of four men working while a large menacing hand

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[84] Richard Hanser, Frederic Sondern, Jr., "Wilhelm Zaisser: The Red Zimmler," Jan. 1953: 73-77
*Note – though it may have been widely believed at the time, it has since come out that not as many East Germans had Stasi files as was believed. The actual number is less than half. (Interview with Cornelia Bull, Press Speaker for Stasi Files Agency, October 2000).
[85] O. Anisimov, "Education in Soviet Russia," condensed from *Russian Review* Oct. 1950: 57-59.
[86] Gen. John W. O'Daniel, Milton Lehman, "This is Moscow Today," condensed from *Collier's*, July. 1951: 51-54.
[87] Lydia Kirk, "Postmarked Moscow," condensed from the book, Nov. 1952: 135-147.
[88] John Lindsay Eric Smith, "Why the Iron Curtain Helps the West," condensed from *Time* March. 1952: 7-9.

hovered above them, pulling their strings as if they were marionettes.[89] Similar articles discussed the low pay, poor housing, and severe punishment for lateness.

Among the most sinister of the articles was "Double-Check and Double-Cross," about a false American checkpoint where Soviet guards pretend to befriend escapees, and then arrest them after they reveal who helped them escape.[90]

Positive Stories

Wallace also printed stories about the common man who beat the odds in Eastern Europe. Successful escapes were a common topic. One story was written by a couple who escaped the Soviet Union with top-secret Government information and now live happily in Canada under assumed identities.[91] A particularly uplifting tale involved two Czech citizens who immigrated to America after they "highballed a locomotive through the Iron Curtain" with their entire families. [92]

There was uplifting news about families who remained in Communist Eastern Europe as well. Such stories included a 19-year-old East German boy who stood up for Capitalism and Democracy by handing out flyers; and then subsequently in the courtroom after he was arrested,[93] political jokes as a form of resistance against Communist tyranny,[94] and a radio announcer in the American zone of Berlin who was spreading the truth about the inhumane conditions under Soviet rule.[95] These positive stories also

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[89]Anonymous, "If you Worked in Soviet Russia," April. 1951: 34-37.
[90] Edward Hymoff, "Double-Check and Double-Cross," condensed from *The Christian Science Monitor* May. 1952: 29-30.
[91] Svetlana Gouzenko, "Our Life in Hiding from the Soviet Secret Police," condensed from *American Weekly* April. 1954: 37-40.
[92] Jaroslav Konvalinka, Karel Truska, "We Stole a Ride to Freedom," May. 1952: 27-29.
[93] Frederic Sondern, Jr., "The Trial of Hermann Flade," Nov. 1951: 139-142.
[94] Richard Hanser, "Cracks Behind the Curtain," condensed from *The Freeman* Dec. 1950: 130-132.
[95]O.K. Armstrong, "The Man the Russians Fear Most in Germany," Feb. 1950: 53-56.

served up anti-communist rhetoric, for the main characters were usually featured as brave Davids who overcame the Goliath of the Soviet Regime.

Justification for Intervention

The political objectives of the *Reader's Digest* included not only a strenuous fight against Communism on American soil, but also throughout the world. This is evident by the volume and wide variety of stories that sought to justify either military or diplomatic intervention in foreign countries that faced a Communistic threat of some nature. 53 articles fit into this category; more than in any other group. Particularly important are those written by staffers or other contributors: 26. Four were condensed from speeches, one from a book, and 23 from other periodicals. Therefore, 31 of the 53 articles, or 58% did not originate in other periodicals. Those that did were featured in a variety of publications, such as *The Rotarian*, *Time*, *Atlantic Monthly* and *Pathfinder*. Most articles centered on either Asia or Europe.

Europe

The *Digest* printed several pieces aimed specifically at the threat to America, such as "Stalin's Plans for the USA," which claimed to be the story of a man who heard Stalin outline the reasons he did not want Czechoslovakia to join the Marshall Plan. Stalin is quoted in the article:

> "The Americans wish to strengthen their own economic structure. One method is to send surplus goods to Europe. Thus for Czechoslovakia to accept these goods would be to help postpone the inevitable economic collapse of the United States. This is not in the interest of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.....The power of the United States must be eliminated from Europe and Asia."[96]

[96] Stewart Alsop, "Stalin's Plans for the USA," condensed from *The Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 1951: 17-18.

The magazine condensed Leland Stowe's *Conquest By Terror* in 1952. The book section asserted, "Our own freedom depends on knowledge of the Soviets' methods of control. How are they subjugating people? What is the combined strength of the satellite armed forces?" The article touts itself as "an unforgettably vivid portrayal of the Communist blueprint for the enslavement of all free men." [97]

Concern about West Germany allying with Russia prompted several articles such as "Europe's Old Nightmare Returns," which claimed, "The continent fears Russia will woo frustrated Germany into a partnership again. Russian propaganda has been playing down Communism and playing up the common interests of the German and Russian peoples."[98] Another article stated, "Communist propaganda, radiating from the Reds' Eastern Puppet State, keeps telling the West Germans they would be better off united with their Eastern brothers."[99]

Asia

One of the most blatant appeals for intervention in China is found in William C. Bullit's "Why we Must Stop Stalin's Conquest of Asia." Bullit asks and answers: "Would possession of Asia satisfy the Communists? It would not. Stalin's objective is conquest of the world." [100] Another article claimed that Stalin's next target would be Japan.[101]

A 1951 story by James Michener was obviously meant to scare Americans into supporting military efforts in Asia:

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[97] Leland Stowe, "Conquest by Terror," condensed from the book, June. 1952: 136.
[98] Demaree Bess, "Europe's Old Nightmare Returns," condensed from *The Saturday Evening Post*, July. 1950: 49-52.
[99] Anonymous, "The Most Important German Since Hitler," condensed from *Time*, March. 1950: 79-83.
[100] William C. Bullit, "Why We Must Stop Stalin's Conquest of Asia," Sept. 1950: 133-138.
[101] Romney Wheeler, "Stalin's Target for Tomorrow," condensed from *Harper's*, March. 1951: 65-68.

> "The future of the West, in this continent where the white man is so hated, is in terrible doubt. But the cost of the future is too staggering to be considered. Never in our national history have we been so feared and despised as we are in Asia. Though we encouraged, often helped China, Indochina, Burma and Indonesia to win their national freedom, those nations today condemn us as reactionary and imperialistic."[102]

Another fear-inducing article "tells how Communists, welcomed as liberators by a Chinese village, step by careful step eventually revealed themselves as bloody terrorists."[103]

The sheer number of countries seemingly in need of assistance no doubt served, in some way, to deepen the impression that the world was in danger of Communist takeover. Articles also focused on the Communist rebels in Malaya,[104] and the delicate situation in the Philippines. [105]

U.S. Military Preparation

Now that it's been established that the *Digest* supported intervention against Communism around the world, it's appropriate to examine the magazine's stance on America's readiness for such intervention. The fewest articles fit into this category; there were 17 total. Six were written by staffers or contributors, one was condensed from a speech, two were book sections, and eight were condensed reprints. 9 of the 17, or 52% of the articles did not originate in other periodicals.

Interestingly enough, for an optimistic publication with a target audience of Pleasantville, U.S.A., many stories in this category focused on the U.S. military's **lack** of preparation; many of these appeared during the Korean War. This focus, no doubt, was

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[102] James Michener, "Blunt Truths About Asia," condensed from *Life*, Jan. 1951: 73-78.
[103] Arthur Goodfriend, "When the Communists Came to Chuang," Jan. 1951: 77-84.
[104] Graham Greene, "Malaya, the Forgotten War," condensed from *Life* Nov. 1951: 119-123.
[105] William C. Bullit, "No Peace in the Philippines," March. 1952: 95-98.

intended to increase support for military spending, and most likely also heightened Americans' fear about the Communist threat.

"We're Not the Best in the World," was a critical examination of the American military that claims: "We did not win World War II because we were the best in soldiers, generalship or equipment. On the contrary, we were often woefully second best – sometimes a poor third or fourth." [106] An article immediately following in the October 1950 issue asserted "Korea Proves Our Need for a Dominant Air Force." [107] One 1951 story asked "Are American Weapons Good Enough?,"[108] while another discussed the air power odds against the United States in stark terms: "If there is a surer way to national suicide, in a world threatened by international bandits, I have yet to hear about it." [109] If that wasn't sufficiently frightening to readers, "The Red Air Force knows all the holes in our system. All of our major ports on the Atlantic, the Pacific and the Gulf of Mexico are open to sneak attack by enemy cargo vessels carrying atom bombs." [110]

With World War II still fairly fresh in the minds of the American public, the *Digest* provided several negative stories about "Our Worst Blunders in War," [111]and about military and scientific secrets that the Soviets stole while the U.S. was allied with the Russians.[112] The upshot of most of these articles is that America should never have trusted the Soviet Union or Stalin. In that same vein, "When are We Going to Stop

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[106] Hanson W. Baldwin, "We're Not the Best in the World," condensed from the *Saturday Evening Post*, Oct. 1950: 1-6.
[107] Alexander P. de Seversky, "Korea Proves Our Need for a Dominant Air Force," Oct.1950: 6-10.
[108] Joseph and Stewart Alsop, "Are American Weapons Good Enough?" condensed from *The Saturday Evening Post*, May. 1951: 98-103.
[109] General Carl A. Apaatz, "The Air Power Odds Against Us," condensed from *Air Force*, June 1951: 11-14.
[110] Henry J. Taylor, "No Watchdogs For America," condensed from the radio program "Your Land and Mine," Feb. 1951: 85-87.
[111] Hanson W. Baldwin, "Our Worst Blunders in War," condensed from *Atlantic Monthly*, April. 1950: 95-100.
[112] Geroge Racey Jordan, "We Gave the Reds Everything," condensed from Major Jordan's Diaries, Dec. 1952: 55-61.

Helping Russia Arm?" pointed out that Western Europe and the U.S. were providing Russia – both legally and illegally – with strategic materials such as ball bearings, drill presses, and special steels that enabled the Russians to turn out military equipment.[113] Representative Robert Chiperfield of Illinois also asserted that "U.S. Dollars Have Been Arming Russia."[114]

Other stories touted the promise of atomic weapons as "a potential answer to the problem of the Kremlin's crushing manpower superiority,"[115] and conversely, an unusual article titled: "The Myth of Eastern Manpower," which asserted that America has the greater potential for war production, and should not fear Russia or China.[116]

Conclusions

Without a doubt, the *Reader's Digest* was a stridently anti-Communist publication between 1950 and 1954. Its editor, DeWitt Wallace, not being a big fan of Senator Joseph McCarthy, nonetheless championed McCarthy's cause through a variety of article types. From stories about spies in American defense plants and government institutions, to pieces about the evils of life under Communist rule, to articles justifying U.S. intervention against Communism - however unprepared the military might be – the *Digest* pushed its political agenda in the magazine.

Upon close examination of the origin of many of these articles, several patterns become clear. First, the stories about the threat of Communism in the United States and those justifying intervention are much more likely to be originals. Second, they are also

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[113] O.K. Armstrong and Frederic Sondern, Jr. "When are We Going to Stop Helping Russia Arm" December: 1950 115-120

[114] Robert B. Chiperfield, "How U.S. Dollars Have Been Arming Russia," April: 1951 59-63

[115] Stewart Alsop and Dr. Ralph Lapp, "The Promise of our New Atomic Weapons," Condensed from the Saturday Evening Post, December: 1951 25-29

[116] Kathleen Thayer, "The Myth of Eastern Manpower," Condensed from Yale Review, March: 1952 4-7

often from less popular magazines, taken from a politician's speech or condensed from a book. There is a sharp contrast between this category and the other three where this is concerned. Third, this casts suspicion on many of these articles because it indicates that such articles were not appearing elsewhere; otherwise, the magazine, which created its reputation through reprints, would have been condensing them for its own use. In addition, it shows that the *Digest* was likely more concerned with pushing its agenda than with actually generating a true "digest," or best-of publication. More than half of the total articles coded from 1950 to 1954 did not originate in other magazines. That itself is evidence of an agenda, and when considered in conjunction with the common practice of planting, the idea of the *Reader's Digest* being a "digest" at all is in serious doubt. This makes studying the *Digest* during the McCarthy Era - in fact, throughout the entire cold war – even more important.

This paper is meant in no way to insinuate that real threats to American security or the American political system did not exist in the early 1950's. It was simply historical research into the *Digest*'s presentation of anti-Communism during the McCarthy Era. Admittedly, the findings lead one to assume the *Digest* took a fanatical stance on the subject, and that deserves criticism.

Such research and analysis of one of the most popular magazines of all time during a time of intense paranoia in America is worthwhile for several reasons. It allows for a more critical view of propagandistic media today, and it reminds us how ridiculous such sentiment and paranoia seems in retrospect – but yet how harmful it can be at the time -- a point that is well taken considering current events.

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Helping Women Save Their Marriages: A Content Analysis of the Marriage Advice Given in *Ladies' Home Journal* articles from the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s

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Helping Women Save Their Marriages: A Content Analysis of the Marriage Advice Given in *Ladies' Home Journal* articles from the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s

Ladies Home Journal has dispensed advice to its targeted female readers since it was first published in 1883. The 119-year-old magazine continues to draw an audience, as evidenced by its eighth-place ranking among the United States' largest paid circulation magazines (Meredith, 2002). The magazine targets middle-aged married women, and one of its most popular departments is called "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" This department dispenses marriage advice by publishing excerpts of marriage counselor's case files. Written in the first person, the articles begin with the spouses revealing their marital problems, followed by the counselor's advice. This study analyzes articles published in this department during the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s to determine if the marriage problems and the advice have changed over time.

This magazine's history begins with Cyrus Curtis and his wife, Louis. Born June 18, 1850, Cyrus Curtis began his publishing career at age 13 when he sold his own newspaper, *Young America,* in his hometown of Portland, Maine (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991). In 1879, he and a partner started *Tribune and Farmer*, a four-page weekly that targeted a rural audience (Zuckerman, 1998). Curtis' wife, Louis, complained about the "Women and the Home" department, which targeted farmers' wives. At her husband's suggestion, Louis began editing the column, and it became so popular that Curtis turned it into a monthly supplement in December 1883 (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991). The supplement, which cost 50 cents for a year's subscription, received its name without great thought.

> Curtis told the printer that the magazine would be a 'kind of a ladies' journal' (or so the story goes), and that was the title on the first issue, but the printer added a picture of house between 'Ladies' and 'Journal.' Readers, taking it literally, began addressing the new magazine as *the Ladies' Home Journal,* according to this possibly apocryphal version, and the name stuck (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991).

In its first year, the magazine achieved a circulation of 25,000. This success in such a short amount of time prompted Curtis to sell his shares in *Tribune and Farmer* in order to focus his attention on *Ladies' Home Journal*, and Curtis Publishing Company became the magazine's owner in October 1884 (Zuckerman, 1998). *Ladies' Home Journal's* circulation quickly rose to 270,000 in less than three years. Curtis realized he could keep the subscription price low if he could attract a high amount of revenue from advertising (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991).

Louis left the editor position in 1889 to care for her daughter. Her replacement was Edward Bok, a 26-year-old book editor whose appointment caused a stir in the press. Although the public questioned the suitability of a bachelor serving as editor of a women's magazine, Bok made content decisions that helped the magazine reach the million-circulation mark in 1903 and the 2 million mark in 1919 (Tebbel and Zuckerman, 1991). He has been described as editing "with a cold logic and with some paradox, for he was a man who understood women but disdained most of them, who appreciated the uses of humor but was incapable of spontaneous wit, who proclaimed his Americanization but was governed by his Dutch sense of neatness and thrift" (Peterson, 1975). During Bok's 30-year reign as editor, society became more urban and industrial, and women's roles

were changing. Salme Steinberg's 1997 book on Edward Bok discusses Bok's difficulty in accepting this change.

> Bok was confused about women's role. He had misgivings about suffrage for women, but he wanted them to have a civic education. He wanted women to stay at home and mind their households, so he opposed the entertaining and culturally uplifting projects of clubwomen and instead encouraged them to engage responsibly in community projects. Only the needs created by World War I properly released middle-class women from their home activities, but Bok's contributors, not he, suggested that a women's status was automatically raised if she worked outside her household (Steinberg, 1979).

The suffrage movement was underway while Bok was editor. He changed from being neutral on the issue to opposing it in the March 1912 issue. "He said that much research and study on the question revealed to him that women were not ready for the vote" (Steinberg, 1979.) Despite his views, Bok helped the magazine build a loyal audience.

Today, the magazine reaches twice as many readers as it did during Bok's time. The Meredith Corporation, the magazine's current owner, bought the publication in 1986. The company's Web site boasts that the magazine has a circulation of 4.1 million. A spring 2001 report by MRI says that the average reader's age is 48.5 with a household income of $51,219, which is a vastly different audience from the original one composed of farmers' wives. Fifty-five percent of the readers have a college education, 62.7 percent are married and 40.6 percent have children living in the home. The Web site doesn't list how many of these women work outside the home, a question that either wasn't asked on the survey or is not considered an important number to report. After all, the magazine's stated mission is more focused on emotions and looks than on careers. "*Ladies' Home*

Journal reaches one in every eight U.S. women and reports on what matters to them. The voice of real women, we help them feel their best, look their best, and make the most of their relationships" (Meredith, 2002).

Through the years, there have been several studies focusing on this mass circulation magazine. Fox (1990) examined the household goods featured in the ads and found an underlying ideology promoting women's commitment to housework. Searles and Mickish (1984) studied the fiction in the 1905 issues and found that the stories contained conservative feminist values. Kitch (1998) looked at a collection of Alice Barber Stephens' illustrations published in the magazine. Three of these images showed a traditional view of women, while the other three showed the "New Woman," one who was beginning to venture outside of the traditional feminine role of women as caretaker. She concludes that the images show a women's proper place in terms of both gender and class.

This study also looks at the role of women in the magazine, but focuses on the marriage advice given in the popular column, "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" The department began in January 1953. The format has one spouse tell his or her side of a marital problem and then allows space for the other spouse to tell his or her version. This is followed by a marriage counselor's advice on how the marriage can be saved. The content is taken from actual counselor case studies and condensed to fit the allotted space. For example, in the debut article, a wife complains that her husband never gives her compliments. Despite her efforts, the wife says she is unable to please him. The husband reports that his wife is an inadequate housekeeper who constantly whines. For this troubled marriage, the counselor suggests that the wife purchase pretty clothes to

wear at home and that the husband assist in planning the meals. The two eventually found a common interest in gardening, had a baby boy, and reported being "supremely happy" (Popenoe, 1954). Thus, this was the first in a long line of marriages to be saved.

The Changing Role of Women

In the 49 years that this marriage column has been published, the role of women in society has continued to evolve. In the early 1960s, author Betty Friedan dared to put into writing what many housewives had been thinking – that there had to be more to life than caring for a husband, children and home. In the first paragraph of her book, *The Feminine Mystique*, Friedan says that women had a growing dissatisfaction with this traditional role:

> As she made the beds, shopped for groceries, matched slipcover material, ate peanut butter sandwiches with her children, chauffeured Cub Scouts and Brownies, lay beside her husband at night – she was afraid to ask even of herself the silent questions – "Is this all?" (Friedan, 1963).

Friedan's book documents the changing role of women in America, emphasizing the time period from the 1950s to the early 1960s. The suffrage movement successfully secured women the vote with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, and more women began venturing into the workforce. This trend changed in the 1950s, when many women married, stayed home and had children. Employment statistics reveal this change. The employment to total population ratio for females has increased over the years. (Using this ratio factors in the increase of the total population.) This ratio was 33.9 in 1950, 43.3 in 1970, and 57.5 in 1990 (Flynn, 2001). This shows a clear trend of more women joining the labor force.

As the number of women joining the workforce increased, the number of women getting married decreased. The marriage rate for women age 15 and older (per thousand) was 29.6 in 1950, 28.3 in 1970, and 24.1 in 1990.

Women are also waiting longer before marrying, with the median age for women's first marriages increasing 4.3 years between 1970 and 2000 to 25.1. Men's median age increased 3.6 years to 26.8 years. The average household size has also declined during this 30-year time period from 3.14 to 2.62 persons. In 1900, there were 4.0 births per woman, which decreased to 2.2 in the 1930s before rising to a postwar high of 3.7 in 1957. This number fell drastically to 1.8 in the 1980s and is now at about 2.0 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001).

Although the marriage rate decreased from the 1950s to the 1990s, the number of women getting divorces increased drastically. The divorce rate for women age 15 and older (per thousand) was 10.3 in 1950, 14.9 in 1970, and 20.4 in 1990 (Beverly LaHaye Institute, 1999). These statistics show that women's roles in the 1950s differed from the 1970s and 1990s, with more women in the latter decades breaking away from the traditional homemaker role.

During this time of change, the media, as part of its function, transmitted messages about women's roles. Several studies have documented that the roles of women presented on television up to the 1970s were traditional ones. Dominick (1979) looked at 25 years of television shows from 1953 to 1978 and concluded that traditional roles dominated. These roles often included mother, nurturer and homemaker (McDonald & Godfrey, 1982). In print media, women were also shown in similar roles. A study of three

women's magazines, *Ladies' Home Journal, McCall's* and *Good Housekeeping,* showed that women characters in the fiction stories published between 1940 and 1970 reinforced traditional feminine roles (Franzwa, 1975).

Women's magazines in the 1950s often included articles about marriage, which were shown as relationships that women were responsible for. "Long before the divorce rates skyrocketed in the 1970s, marriages were perceived as being in constant danger of dissolving, and it is a rare issue of a magazine that does not offer advice on how to patch up, rejuvenate, or rescue the marital relationship" (Walker, 1998).

A study conducted 10 years ago looked at content in *Ladies' Home Journal* and *Good Housekeeping* to see if the magazine's coverage reflected a changing role of women from the 1960s to the 1990s. The study found that feminist themes rose and traditional themes declined over time, a finding that points out the media's role in reflecting the changing norms in society (Demarest & Garner, 1992).

Theoretical Framework

This study is based upon the socialization theory, which states that the media play a role in reinforcing society's norms and values. Severin and Tankard (1992) discuss the media as "transmitters of culture," which means "the media function to communicate information, values and norms from one generation to another... In this way they serve to increase social cohesion by widening the base of common experience."

As a socialization agent, the media can promote messages people agree with as well as ones they object to. *Ladies' Home Journal*'s messages that reinforced the notion of a traditional housewife caused many women to protest in 1970. Although a steadily

increasing number of women began leaving the home to join the workforce in the 1960s, the magazine's content didn't reflect this change. Dissatisfaction with the magazine's stories prompted a group of feminists to storm into editor John Mack Carter's office in 1970 and demand that he resign. The women also argued that the magazine should include their views on women's liberation, and Carter consented by allowing the women to have eight pages in the August issue (Taft, 1982).

This incident demonstrates the audience's expectations that the content change to reflect society's evolving values. This study looks at the content in the department "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" to discover the marital issues included in the articles and to determine if the advice has changed over time. The following research questions are explored:

R1: Do more wives featured in articles from the 1970s and 1990s have jobs outside the home compared to wives featured in articles from the 1950s?

R2: Do articles written in the 1950s feature wives who have a submissive role in the relationship more often than articles written in the 1970s and 1990s?

R3: Does the person identified in the marriage as having the main problem vary by decade?

R4: Does the advice target the wife or the husband to make the most changes in order to save the marriage, and does this vary by decade?

R5: Are the spouses encouraged to suppress or express their emotions, and does this advice vary with the gender of the spouse or the decade? Does the gender of the counselor affect the type of advice given?

R6: What types of marriage problems are discussed in the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s, and how do they differ?

R7: How many of the articles feature marriages that are saved?

Methodology

This study uses a content analysis because this method has the ability to describe content and to identify trends occurring over time (Wimmer & Dominick, 1997). This study focuses on articles published during the 1950s, 1970s and the 1990s. The department debuted in 1953, so a random sample was taken from articles appearing in 1953 to 1959, from 1970 to 1979 and from 1990 to 1999. During the 1950s, the feature did not appear in every issue, so there are only 57 articles to choose from during this time. In the 1970s and the 1990s, the article appeared each month, so there are 120 articles to choose from during each decade. The articles were randomly selected to form two composite years in each of the decades so that each month is represented. This selection process guards against changes in the content that might have occurred during a particular month. The number of articles analyzed was 72. The total population size is 297, so the 72 randomly chosen articles represent 24 percent of the population.

The following categories and responses were used: (1) *gender of counselor*: male or female; (2) *person with the problem*: husband or wife (could choose both); (3) *the spouse encouraged to make the most change in order to save marriage:* husband or wife (could choose both); (4) *counselor's advice to wife about showing emotion:* express or suppress; (5) *counselor's advice to husband about showing emotion:* express or suppress; (6) *wife's role in relationship:* assertive or submissive; (7) *husband's role in relationship:* assertive or submissive; (to clarify, a husband and wife could both be submissive, both be assertive, or one could be assertive and the other submissive) (8) *Outcome:* marriage saved or marriage failed; (9) *Women's employment:* working or stay-at-home; (10) *Husband's employment:* working or stay-at-home; (11) *Husband's main fault as told by wife:* coder listed responses, which were later collapsed into 10 categories; (12) *Wife's*

main fault as told by husband: coder listed responses, which were later collapsed into 10 categories.

To help clarify the categories for the coders, the following operational definitions were used: *Spouse encouraged to make the most change:* The counselor's recommendations for behavior change are directed toward this person; *Showing emotion:* The sharing (expressing) or withholding (suppressing) of feelings; *Role in relationship:* The declaration of authority (assertive) or the lack of authority (submissive); *Employment:* working (full-time or part-time job) or stay-at-home (no paid job outside home); and *Main fault:* The reason for most of the spouse's complaints.

This latter category resulted in numerous responses that were then collapsed into the following 10 categories: infidelity, addiction, work, abuse, family, sex, communication, money, household chores, and personality. These categories have the following operational definitions: *infidelity:* having an intimate relationship with another person; *addiction:* compulsively engaging in a behavior (drinking, gambling, drugs); *work:* employment issues (too much time or too little time spent working); *abuse:* verbal or physical maltreatment; *family*: interference by family members or problems with children or step-children; *sex:* dissatisfaction with sex life (too much or too little sex); *communication:* inability to effectively exchange ideas (fighting, nagging, silence); *money:* fiscal management (spending too much or not enough): *household chores:* failing to clean house or yard; and *personality:* undesirable qualities and traits (jealousy, shyness, etc).

One person coded all the articles, and then a second person coded 10 percent to determine the level of intercoder reliability. The Scott's Pi reliability formula shows an agreement level of .81.

Results

The mean age of the wives at the time of counseling was 31, and the mean age of the husband's was 34. The average length of marriage at the time of counseling was 8 years.

The first research question examines whether more women featured in the 1970s and 1990s articles will be working compared to women in the 1950s articles. This question is based on the statistical trend toward more women entering the workforce following the 1950s. The results show a significant difference (Chi square = 17.165, $p<.000$) with only 20.8 percent of women in the 1950s articles working outside the home while 79.2 percent stayed home to care for the house and children (See Table 1). The percentage of working women climbs to 75 percent in the 1970s and falls to 69.6 percent in the 1990s. This finding is highly significant and reflects the growing number of women, including those with or without children, who joined the workforce in the years following the 1950s. For men, working outside the home has clearly not been an issue, as all articles from the 1950s and 1990s feature husbands with paying jobs outside the home. In the articles from the 1970s sample, only one husband does not have a full-time job, and this husband's unemployment status is the main problem in the marriage.

The second research questions looks at whether wives featured in the 1950s articles have a more submissive role than wives in the 1970s and 1990s. The 1950s were a decade when many women cared for the children and the home while the husband earned the family income. These roles were changing by the 1970s and were drastically different in the 1990s. These findings are not statistically significant (Chi square = 4.180, $p<.382$). However, a look at the percentages does indicate a slight change from 62.5 percent of the women in both the 1950s and 1970s being submissive to only 45.8 percent

in the 1990s articles. A look at the husbands' authority in the marriages reveals a different trend, with husbands exhibiting a submissive role in 29.2 percent of the 1950s articles. This number drops to 12.5 percent having a submissive role in the 1970s before climbing to 37.5 percent of the 1990s articles. Despite these changes, this finding is not significant (Chi square = 4.004, $p<.135$).

These findings can also be divided into the following three categories: husband assertive and wife submissive; wife assertive and husband submissive; and equal authority. Looking at the data this way reveals a surprising trend. In the 1950s, the husband was assertive and the wife was submissive in 54.2 percent of the marriages (See Table 2). This number climbs to 66.7 percent in the 1970s before dropping to 41.7 percent in the 1990s. The reversal of the roles, in which the wife is assertive and the husband is submissive, occurs in 20.8 percent of the 1950s marriages, 8.3 percent of the 1970s marriages and 33.3 percent of the 1990s marriages. The frequency of the authority being equal between the spouses remained steady at 25 percent in the 1950s, 1970s and 1990s. These results are not statistically significant (Chi Square = 4.985, $p<.289$), but they do show that although more women were working outside the home in the 1970s, the husband maintained the authority in the marriages during this time more often than in the 1950s. This is surprising since the Feminist movement was underway in the 1970s.

The third research question focuses on which spouse is identified by the counselor as causing the main problem in the marriage. In the 1950s, the husband is identified as having the problem in 29.2 percent of the articles, the wife has the problem in 20.8 percent, and both of them are the cause of the problem in 50 percent of the articles (See Table 3). Placing the blame on both the husband and wife increased to 58.3 percent of the

1970s articles and 91.7 percent of the 1990s articles. This finding is statistically significant (Chi Square = 12.576, p<.014), revealing that a relationship exists between the decade of publication and the person who is causing the main problem in the marriage.

The counselor offered advice to the couples on how to save their marriages. This study looked at which spouse was advised to make the most change – the husband, the wife or both. The findings show that the responsibility for changing was placed on the wives in 45.8 percent of the 1950s articles (See Table 4). This number declines to 4.3 percent of the wives in the 1970s articles and 8.3 percent of the wives in the 1990s. In these latter two decades, the counselors advise both spouses to change in 91.3 percent of the 1970s articles and 83.3 percent of the 1990s articles. These findings are statistically significant (Chi Square = 16.805, p<2), but these should be interpreted with caution because six cells have an expected count of less than 5.

Many of the counselors discussed how the spouses should deal with their emotions. This study divides this advice into two categories – expressing emotions and suppressing emotions. Looking at this advice across the three decades shows that 41.7 percent of the wives were encouraged to suppress their emotions in the 1950s, but this number falls to 25 percent in the 1970s and 8.3 percent in the 1990s. Conversely, the percentages for expressing emotion climb over time. Fifty percent of the wives in the 1950s, 70.8 percent in the 1970s, and 91.7 percent in the 1990s were encouraged to express emotions. This finding is significant (Chi Square = 10.274, p<.036) but caution must be used when interpreting these results because three cells have an expected count of less than five. Men overwhelmingly are encouraged to express their emotions. In the 1950s and 1970s, 79.2 percent of husbands were given this advice, with the number

climbing to 100 percent in the 1990s. These percentages are revealing, but the finding is not statistically significant (Chi Square = 8.306, $p<.081$).

The gender of the marriage counselors changed slightly throughout the years. The percent of female counselors was 54.2 percent in the 1950s, 37.5 percent in the 1970s and 58.3 percent in the 1990s. There is no relationship between the gender of the counselor and the advice they gave to the husbands and wives on whether they should suppress or express their emotions. Both male and female counselors were more likely to advise that both spouses express their emotions. Male counselors gave this advice to wives 66.7 percent of the time and to husbands 84.8 percent. Female counselors encouraged the expression of emotions 72.2 percent of the time for the wives and 86.1 percent for husbands.

The types of problems in the marriages are explored in the sixth research question. This data is examined by looking at the frequencies. In the 1950s, communication was the leading problem in marriages (29.2 percent), followed by money and family (both 12.5 percent). In the 1970s, communication remains the top problem (22.9 percent), followed by family (20.8 percent) and personality problems (12.5 percent). Communication problems continue to top the list of complaints in the 1990s and climb to a high of 37.5 percent of the problems. This is followed by family problems (20.8 percent) and work problems (12.5 percent).

Combining the problems for all three decades shows that communication is the most frequently mentioned marriage problem (29.9 percent), meaning it is mentioned in almost a third of all the articles. Family problems are the next most frequently mentioned problem (18.8 percent), followed by work and personality problems (both 9 percent).

How many of the articles feature marriages that are saved? The editors clearly prefer publishing counseling cases that have happy endings because only one article out of the 72 in the study had a marriage that ended in divorce. Another article featured a husband and wife who are divorced but are contemplating getting remarried. The remaining 70 couples experienced a successful reconciliation after counseling. This emphasis on maintaining marriages is not surprising, as the magazine's readership consists of many married women.

The article featuring the couple whose marriage failed appeared in the September 1954 issue. For this article, the department's name changed from "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" to "This Marriage Could Not be Saved." The wife, Dena, is presented as an unhappy stay-at-home mother who is disappointed with the lack of attention she receives from Kevin, her hard-working, smart husband. The couple has been married for 11 years, but the wife has fallen in love with another man who makes her happy. This man is also married, but he says he will get a divorce and marry Dena. She complains to the marriage counselor about her husband's preference for working instead of spending time with her and their children. She is also dissatisfied with their sex life. In a separate session with the counselor, Kevin says he doesn't want a divorce and that he doubts his wife is in love with another man. She just "wants to stir up friction and excitement." He is angry that his wife is unhappy, and says she "should accept me and my faults as I accept Dena and her faults.... Dena knows, or she should know, how much she and the youngsters mean to me, and she'll have to settle for that" (Popenoe, 1954).

The counselor, a woman, says she is frustrated that she couldn't help save the marriage. She says Dena was stubborn and unwilling to try to make her marriage work.

"When I tried to help Dena acquire a little insight, when I tried to show her possible ways of composing her marital troubles and endeavored to turn her thoughts to the future, I accomplished nothing. She was certain she already knew the answers" (Popenoe, 1954). The counselor acknowledges that Kevin was a difficult husband because of his absence in the relationship. However, the counselor applauded Kevin's efforts to change, even remarking, "I feel sure he would have become a better lover if Dena had given him the opportunity" (Popenoe, 1954).

In this article, Dena is clearly the spouse who is being blamed for the failed marriage. The counselor makes a point of emphasizing how this divorce has ruined lives. "So far as I can see, nobody has profited. Everybody has suffered." Dena's new love never got his divorce, so he and Dena ended the relationship. Dena "spends many lonely, restless evenings." The children miss their father, and "Dena and her ex-husband speak to each other through their lawyers" (Popenoe, 1954).

This variation from the typical saved marriage serves to emphasize how important it is for wives to work to keep their marriages at all costs, lest they end up unhappy like Dena. The message for women is that divorce is an option that is available to them, but it is not one they should choose. Instead, they should try to make the best of the marriage they have.

In the 1970s, one article shows that although women may divorce their husbands, there is always the chance that they can win them back. In this article, the husband, Hal, is an alcoholic who hits his pregnant wife, Genevieve. She suffers a broken jaw and a broken wrist, and the unborn baby is barely saved. Genevieve leaves the home for a women's shelter and legally separates from her abusive husband. Hal complains that he

needs Genevieve's help to improve his life. "Only Gini can provide the incentive I need to stay sober – a chance to be a live-in father and husband instead of a weekend visitor" (Disney, 1979). The female counselor says Hal might have attacked his pregnant wife because he was subconsciously jealous of the unborn baby. She says that Genevieve is an independent, strong woman who is nevertheless attracted to alcoholic men. The counselor reports that the couple has reconciled and is living together, although the divorce remains intact. Hal attends Alcoholics Anonymous meetings, and "Genevieve now has high hopes for Hal's future and an eventual remarriage" (Disney, 1979). During the 1970s, the divorce rate was rising, so it is not shocking that this column features a divorced couple. However, the message being transmitted to readers is that sometimes the problems that lead to divorces can be overcome, and these couples might be happier if they would remarry.

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to examine the content of *Ladies' Home Journal's* popular department called "Can This Marriage Be Saved?" over a time period of three decades. These decades were chosen because of the differing role of women that were present in each time period. Placing these results in a historical context, the 1950s articles featured women who stayed home to care for their family, and who were encouraged to suppress their emotions. According to socialization theory, women readers, many of whom were in similar positions as the people in the stories, would have the traditional role of women in society reinforced for them. The feminist protests at the *Ladies' Home Journal* offices in 1970 highlight the fact that not all readers simply took in the messages

and internalized them; many disagreed and were angry. This protest prompted the magazine to include more feminist themes.

These themes are still evident in the articles from the 1990s. During this decade, the column featured women who are more assertive and not only have a home, husband and children, but also a job. Statistics show that the working women in the magazine reflect the working women in the general population, so women readers who juggled careers with families could relate to the stresses placed upon the featured marital relationships. The presence of more working wives in the 1970s and 1990s articles compared to the 1950s shows that women's roles changed through the years, and that the magazine's advice column reflects this change.

Another difference over time relates to the show of emotion. In the 1950s articles, many women were advised to stop telling their husband how they felt, especially if they were communicating negative feelings relating to the husband's shortcomings. This advice was not widely given in the 1970s or 1990s articles. Instead, both husbands and wives were encouraged to talk with each other about their emotions. Many counselors advised setting aside a time each week that was devoted to communicating about feelings. Some counselors told the couples to use statements such as: "When you do X, I feel Y." Other counselors recommended that after one spouse speaks, the other spouse listen quietly. When that person is finished talking, then the other spouse sums up what was just said to ensure that the main points are understood. Most of the 1950s articles do not provide specific advice for having conversations relating to emotions.

This recent emphasis on communicating emotions coincides with a rise in problems that relate to communication. This was the most frequently cited problem in all

three decades, but the highest amount occurred in the 1990s. Because of the limited number of articles in the sample, generalizations about the marriage problems contained in this department should not be made for the entire population of married people.

People who read this department might come away with the notion that all marriages can be saved, if only the couples seek advice and make the recommended changes. Only one article was included that disagrees with this notion. These articles never present the view that some people may lead happier lives if they would end their marriages. The one column featuring a marriage that ends in divorce emphasizes how foolish the wife was for ending her marriage because it wrecked her live and the lives of her children. The one column that featured a divorced couple focused on the couple's chances for remarrying despite the fact that the alcoholic husband had abused the wife. The message inherent in these columns is that no problem is too large to overcome, and that marriages are worth saving no matter what. In real life, the high divorce rate shows that many people disagree with this message. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (1990), there is a 43 percent likelihood that new marriages will end in divorce. Marriages may be saved within the pages of *Ladies Home Journal,* but apparently maintaining a marriage in real life is much more difficult.

This study focuses on the content present in articles from the 1950s, 1970s, and 1990s, but this will be expanded to include a larger sample size and to examine content from the 1960s and1980s. By expanding the study, a fuller picture will emerge of the problems and advice given in this department. The limitations of a content analysis include only being able to identify whether particular items are present or not in the articles. A different study could use a qualitative approach. For example, a textual

analysis of the articles would provide a better look at the specific messages being transmitted. Examining the audience would also be revealing. Do women with troubled marriages read this article more than women in happy marriages? What do these readers learn from the advice that is given? Do they apply any of the advice to their own marriages?

This study shows that this 49-year-old department, which the magazine labels as "the most popular, most enduring women's magazine feature in the world," reflects the changing role of women over time.

Table 1: Wife's employment by decade

Decade of Publication * Employment Crosstabulation

			Employment		
			Job	Stay Home	Total
Decade of Publication	1950s	Count	5	19	24
		% within Decade of Publication	20.8%	79.2%	100.0%
	70	Count	18	6	24
		% within Decade of Publication	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
	1990s	Count	16	7	23
		% within Decade of Publication	69.6%	30.4%	100.0%
Total		Count	39	32	71
		% within Decade of Publication	54.9%	45.1%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	17.165[a]	2	.000
Likelihood Ratio	17.913	2	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	11.305	1	.001
N of Valid Cases	71		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.37.

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Table 2: Spouses' roles of authority by decade

Spouses' Roles * Decade of Publication Crosstabulation

			Decade of Publication			Total
			1950s	1970s	1990s	
Spouses' Roles	Husband Assertive; Wife Submissive	Count	13	16	10	39
		% within Decade of Publication	54.2%	66.7%	41.7%	54.2%
	Wife Assertive; Husband Submissive	Count	5	2	8	15
		% within Decade of Publication	20.8%	8.3%	33.3%	20.8%
	Equal	Count	6	6	6	18
		% within Decade of Publication	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%
Total		Count	24	24	24	72
		% within Decade of Publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.985[a]	4	.289
Likelihood Ratio	5.252	4	.262
Linear-by-Linear Association	.262	1	.609
N of Valid Cases	72		

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.00.

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Table 3: Spouse identified by counselor as having the main problem

Decade of Publication * Person with problem Crosstabulation

			Person with problem			Total
			Husband	Wife	Both	
Decade of Publication	1950s	Count	7	5	12	24
		% within Decade of Publication	29.2%	20.8%	50.0%	100.0%
	1970s	Count	8	2	14	24
		% within Decade of Publication	33.3%	8.3%	58.3%	100.0%
	1990s	Count	2		22	24
		% within Decade of Publication	8.3%		91.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	17	7	48	72
		% within Decade of Publication	23.6%	9.7%	66.7%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.576[a]	4	.014
Likelihood Ratio	14.683	4	.005
Linear-by-Linear Association	6.443	1	.011
N of Valid Cases	72		

a. 3 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.33.

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Table 4: Spouse identified by counselor as needing to make the most change

Decade of Publication * Person making most change Crosstabulation

			Person making most change			
			Husband	Wife	Both	Total
Decade of Publication	1950s	Count	2	11	11	24
		% within Decade of Publication	8.3%	45.8%	45.8%	100.0%
	1970s	Count	1	1	21	23
		% within Decade of Publication	4.3%	4.3%	91.3%	100.0%
	1990s	Count	2	2	20	24
		% within Decade of Publication	8.3%	8.3%	83.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	5	14	52	71
		% within Decade of Publication	7.0%	19.7%	73.2%	100.0%

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	16.805[a]	4	.002
Likelihood Ratio	16.582	4	.002
Linear-by-Linear Association	4.563	1	.033
N of Valid Cases	71		

a. 6 cells (66.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 1.62.

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Table 5: Frequency of the main problem in the marriage

main fault * Decade of Publication Crosstabulation

			Decade of Publication			Total
			1950s	70	1990s	
main fault	Infidelity	Count	3	4	3	10
		% within Decade of Publication	6.3%	8.3%	6.3%	6.9%
	Addiction	Count	2	3		5
		% within Decade of Publication	4.2%	6.3%		3.5%
	Work	Count	4	3	6	13
		% within Decade of Publication	8.3%	6.3%	12.5%	9.0%
	Abusive	Count	2	5	1	8
		% within Decade of Publication	4.2%	10.4%	2.1%	5.6%
	Family	Count	6	10	11	27
		% within Decade of Publication	12.5%	20.8%	22.9%	18.8%
	Sex	Count	1	4	5	10
		% within Decade of Publication	2.1%	8.3%	10.4%	6.9%
	Communication	Count	14	11	18	43
		% within Decade of Publication	29.2%	22.9%	37.5%	29.9%
	Money	Count	6		2	8
		% within Decade of Publication	12.5%		4.2%	5.6%
	House chores	Count	5	2		7
		% within Decade of Publication	10.4%	4.2%		4.9%
	Personality	Count	5	6	2	13
		% within Decade of Publication	10.4%	12.5%	4.2%	9.0%
Total		Count	48	48	48	144
		% within Decade of Publication	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

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Marriage, Magazines and Makeup Tips:
A comparative content analysis of Bride's magazine and Glamour magazine.

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Abstract

Researchers have often argued that women's magazines present a shallow and narrow view of what women want to know. Articles and advertisements are geared mostly toward beauty and fashion, ignoring deeper needs and non-consumer-driven issues. This paper argues that bridal magazines follow the same pattern in terms of advertising and content while receiving little criticism from the academic press. An examination of 2,703 advertisements (n= 2,703) and 946 articles (n= 946) published in Bride's magazine and Glamour during 2001 found that Bride's magazine runs significantly more articles geared toward fashion and beauty than Glamour. An analysis of the articles also demonstrates that the writing in Bride's focuses significantly more attention on external improvement (beauty, fashion and jewelry) than does Glamour. An analysis of the advertisements shows that Bride's magazine contains disproportionately more advertising than articles when compared to Glamour. It also shows that no significant differences exist between the number of beauty/fashion ads run in either magazine, but does note that those advertisements comprise two-thirds of all advertisements in each magazine for that year. Implications for future research is discussed.

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Marriage, Magazines and Makeup Tips:
A comparative content analysis of Bride's magazine and Glamour magazine.

Over the past several years, women's magazines have undergone a great deal of scrutiny in both the popular and academic press. Magazines such as Cosmopolitan, Glamour, Vogue and Ladies Home Journal have been accused of being driven by advertising and presenting little in the way of substance (Consalvo, 1997). Research into these magazines has demonstrated that the magazines stereotyped women as objects of beauty (Demarest & Garner, 1992) and being detached from serious issues (Glazer, 1980). Leman (1980) argued that these magazines provide a narrow view of women's interest and are often driven by the desires of advertisers as opposed to the desire to inform. The majority of articles and ads in these magazines focused on beauty products and fashion trends, while ignoring health issues, societal trends and other important news items (Consalvo, 1997). Turner et al. (1997) found that women who read these magazines are more likely to feel dissatisfied with their bodies and have poor self images. Even when the magazines address serious social issues, researchers argue that the magazines send the wrong message. Berns (1999) found that domestic violence articles in women's magazines blame the victim for the attacks. Her study concluded that these magazine articles portray domestic violence as a private problem and more specifically, the victim's problem. The list of criticisms can go on (See Winship, 1987).

In spite of this deluge of research in this area, very little attention has been paid to bridal magazines and the images of women they portray. Given that the majority of women who become engaged use these magazines to determine what kind of dress to buy, what kind of reception to have and what kind of honeymoon to take (Marketing to Women, 1994), it seems important to examine the content of these magazines. While

married life carries with it a series of unique issues, the question remains whether bridal magazines provide women with ways to address the issues or not. In another way, do bridal magazines inform women as to the changes they and their husbands will face or does it sell women a bill of goods that consists of beauty products, pretty dresses and fancy reception ideas?

While there have been a variety of studies, both qualitative and quantitative, that have determined many women's magazines to do little more than tell women to look pretty (Demarest & Garner, 1992), it is unclear if bridal magazines follow this pattern as well. The purpose of this piece, then, is not to assess to what level bridal magazines objectify or sexually stereotype women, if the images of women are detrimental to readers or if there is a sense of overt consumerism in these publications. Researchers from a wide array of disciplines have already taken these paths in regard to other publications and images. Attempting to cover every theoretical underpinning based in feminism, consumerism and mass media theory would be counterproductive at best. Rather than attempt to reach every inch of the theoretical spectrum, this study will take a different approach. The intent here is to see if any significant differences exist between bridal magazines and the oft-reviled women's magazines. In doing so, this piece could lay the foundation for researchers with a variety of interests to examine these magazines from their own perspectives.

Brides and their magazines

There are approximately 2.4 million weddings each year in the United States (Brady, 2001). Weddings these days rarely center around a small intimate gathering of friends and a sharing of vows. The average wedding today costs approximately $25,000

(DeYoung, 2001) with the bridal business as a whole operating to the tune of $50 billion a year. This business includes everything from bridal shops and wedding coordinators to registry websites and CD-ROM wedding planners (Boden, 2001).

Brides today take a far different approach to marriage and weddings than those who were married a generation earlier. Flanagan (2001) argues that brides see the wedding as a way to stretch beyond their station in life. This is a chance to create an amazing and complex party to impress their friends and family. The sense of creating a "princess wedding" blinds the bride into believing that there is no option but to spend lavishly on the wedding. Very seldom does the bride achieve the moment of clarity that allows her to realize that her dress costs more than a month's rent and that those "finer touches" on receptions items could have paid off a good number of their bills for the month (Flangan, 2001). Furthermore, the traditions of the past that led to much of the weddings as they are seen now has long since been removed. No longer does a bride live under her father's roof until she is wed, necessitating a large wedding for a proper send off and a gift registry to stock the new home. People with two houses full of amenities use the registry now to seek out luxuries and pad their glorious new home. The registry, the white dress, the wedding rings and other traditions have gained in grandeur what they have lost in significance (Flanagan, 2001).

> "The modern bride, of course, doesn't dwell on any of this. She is, after all, the daughter of one of the most profound cultural shifts in American history, and this is part of her birthright: the freedom to sample, on an a la carte basis, the various liberties young womanhood has to offer." (p. 114)

Bridal magazines have become the resource guide of this new breed of bride. A recent survey by Modern Bride magazine indicates that 98% of women start reading bridal magazines once they become engaged. The top five reasons women cited for using the magazines were: suggestions for wedding dresses, suggestions for bridesmaid's dresses,

tips on wedding etiquette, ideas on flowers and to-do lists. Often, magazines have launched their own websites which connect users to registries, travel agents and other wedding-based businesses (Ambroz, 2002). Even in the face of decreased consumer spending and fears of much worse things to come, Bride's magazine publisher Nina Lawrence declared her magazine "recession-proof" (Brady, 2001).

The influences these magazines hold over these women are substantial. About two-thirds of the women surveyed said they got ideas for their honeymoon from the magazines. Nearly half of the women said the magazines effected their choice of fine china and one-third of them said the magazines shaped their attitudes toward which casual dinnerware to buy. Brides can become obsessed with planning the perfect wedding to the point of undergoing beautifying plastic surgery and having nightmares regarding the wedding day (Ebenkamp, 2001). Furthermore, the women who are about to be married are a highly desired market group, as they are more likely to be brand conscious, upgrade their cosmetics and try diet products. According to data gathered by *Marketing to Women*, 56% of engaged women expect their household spending will increase in the next year. In addition, 78% of engaged women said they will be buying new furniture for the home, even though both they and their fiancées have furniture. Engaged women are more likely to buy automobiles, kitchen appliances, homes, cell phones and fine jewelry than their single counterparts. These women are also more likely to start a diet, buy new skin-care products, use a tanning salon and use a home tooth-whitening kit.

The sparse academic research done on bridal magazines indicates that purchases aimed at beautification and organization are result of a dichotomy within the bride. Boden (2001) argues the identity of the bride as consumer is derived from a split within her personality. One portion is the "project manager," which seeks to outline the exact details of all aspects of the wedding, controlling for possible problems and seeking to

maximize the wonderment of the day. The other portion is the "childish fantasizer," which indulges in the princess wedding fantasy motif. The bride, when this side is active, imagines the fairy tales of her childhood when planning the wedding and looks for that impossible beauty and perfection within her own wedding. Boden argues that the magazines use consumerism to satiate these sides of the bride. By presenting lists of things to buy and do as well as recommendations for beauty and fashion, the magazines feed that desire for perfection. This fear of inadequacy can be even more acute in brides, as most women getting married view their wedding as a once in a lifetime opportunity (Flanagan, 2001). Given the sanctity of that moment, there is little room for error. Therefore, the fear that tasteless clothing selection, gauche cosmetic choices and poor etiquette might haunt them for a lifetime is very real and very strong in the engaged woman. Otnes & Scott (1996) have also examined the relationship between advertising and weddings and have argued that advertisements geared toward weddings tend to coach consumerism as a strategy for happiness. This attempt to consume to reach perfection has been criticized in women's magazines as well (Winship, 1987).

An additional criticism that has universally been levied against women's magazines is the prominence of advertising and the control the ads have over the content within the magazine (Steinem, 1990). Research has shown that women's magazines are more than 50% ads and those ads are geared toward consumerism and attaining perfection by consuming products. One question this study will hopefully answer is whether bridal magazines have significantly more or fewer ads than their "single-based" counterparts.

RQ1: Do bridal magazines contain significantly more advertising than other women's magazines, such as Vogue, Cosmopolitan or Glamour?

RQ2: Do bridal magazines contain advertising that places a significantly larger focus on beauty and fashion than other women's magazines?

Weddings and marriages

While weddings are often portrayed as glitzy and glamorous, the marriage portion is either ignored or cast as a set of doldrums. The phrase "and they lived happily ever after" is perhaps the worst thing newly married couples can hear, as it sets an impossible goal for them to attain (Parrott & Parrott, 1998). More than half of all marriages end in divorce, with 60% of all second marriages doing the same (Weiner-Davis, 1992).

In examining how to best prepare for marriage, Parrott and Parrott (1995) suggest a list of important things couples examine to assure themselves that they are ready for marriage. These items include emotional and psychological readiness, confidence in themselves and their partners and a willingness to work toward common goals and ideas. These and other similar issues are at the core of what can lead to a successful wedding and marriage, they argue. Arp and Arp (1998) state that learning to live in the present while preparing for the wedding can help ease stress and strain and prevent the wedding from becoming the zenith of the relationship. By using the engagement period to examine oneself and each other, engaged couples can find ways to grow together during the readying period. They argue that this time can allow each member of the couple to bring their single lives to closure and prepare for a life that involves more than just themselves. Couples also need to take this time to merge their lives and work to smooth out rough spots in how they act and react to life. By taking this time out, marriage can become a far easier transition to make (Arp & Arp, 1998). As Blue (1998) argues, when it comes to weddings and marriages, "happily ever after' begins before 'I do.'"

Bridal magazines, however, appear to take a far more cosmetic approach to getting ready to get married. The purpose of the bridal magazine is to sell women, who

are fearful of making a mistake that can never be rectified, a sense of security and beauty (Bodin, 2001). The use of designer dress ads, makeup ads and diet ads contribute to a woman's sense that they have failed to attain the proper level of beauty. The articles spend time on how to host a proper party, what can be done to improve a bride's hairstyle and how to best maintain control of the wedding. The articles present a sense that the wedding must be managed by the bride and done so in a manner that prevents outside influences from derailing a bride's happiness within the event (Bodin, 2001; Flanagan, 2001).

It is clear that there is a very distinct dichotomy when it comes to how to prepare for the wedding. Relationship experts argue that there are a number of important social and relational issues that need to be resolved before saying "I do." Meanwhile, some critics argues that bridal magazines focus on preparing for the event itself, which would be akin to planning a party. In this approach, women are told to focus on the beauty and spectacle of the event rather than the emotional and cognitive issues tied to the commitment itself. Women's magazines have faced similar criticisms, which leads to the question of if bridal magazines do a better or worse job focusing on the internal issues (such as relationships, health and family) than traditional women's magazines.

RQ3: Do bridal magazines contain significantly more articles that focus on external beautification than on internal and relational issues?

Methods

An entire year of both Bride's and Glamour were content analyzed, an approach that included the coding of both the advertisements and the articles. Both magazines are owned by Conde Nast publishing house, meaning that the corporation can afford each of them equal access to resources, including advertising representatives, research material and staff members. This choice allows for both magazines to start on equal footing and prevents the controlling company's finances to play a role as a confounding variable. Glamour is a women's magazine with a mass-marketing distribution. It has a circulation of approximately 2 million and targets young white women (Consalvo, 1997). Bride's magazine targets the same general demographics and claims to be "the world's #1 bridal magazine." Bride's is a bimonthly magazine, meaning it comes out once every two months, while Glamour distributes a new issue each month. Due to the way in which Bride's groups its issues (December and January are together as opposed to January and February), we decided to start with the February/March issue of 2001 and continue through the December 2001/January 2002 issue. Issues of Glamour were chosen from the same time period in order to create a matching set of issues.

The articles and advertisements were coded using separate coding schemes. The schemes were based on those created by several previous researchers who had used them to code women's magazine articles and advertisements (Busby & Leichty, 1993; Demarest & Garner, 1992; Monk-Turner, 1990). We coded advertisements to fit in one of eight categories: fashion, beauty, health/fitness, household, jewelry, travel, tobacco/alcohol and food. A miscellaneous category was added to account for all the items that did not fit into any of the previous seven. Advertisements needed to be at least a half page in size to be considered for this study. If an advertisement was

continuous and extended beyond one full page, it was coded only once. For example, if a dress designer placed a six-page advertisement that went uninterrupted by other advertisements or articles, it was coded once. However, if a dress designer placed three single-page advertisements in the magazine and each advertisement had an article between it and the previous advertisement, the ads would each be coded as an individual. This prevented the false inflation of advertisement numbers if either magazine were to disproportionately receive large insert advertisements or special advertising sections.

Fashion was operationalized for this study as pertaining to the dress of an individual or group. This included clothing items and clothing accessories, but did not account for jewelry. Items coded as fashion items included dresses, handbags, shoes, jackets, ties and pants as well as designer labels geared toward clothing or accessory consumption.

Beauty was operationalized as items that attempted to improve physical appearance with limited or no health benefits. Items in this category included cosmetics, perfumes, shaving implements, tanning cream and plastic surgery.

Health/fitness was operationalized as anything that was attempting to improve the physical fitness of an individual or improved the health of an individual. It also accounted for hygiene ads that focused on the health and physical well being of an individual. For example, if an advertisement for soap were being examined and the advertisement focused on the anti-bacterial nature of the soap and how well it kills germs, it would fit here. If the advertisement were to focus on the scent or how it would improve the person's chances at gaining favor with a member of the opposite sex, it was coded as beauty. Lifestyle-changing diet programs were also coded here. If the advertisement were for a diet service like Jenny Craig or Weight Watchers that involved

counseling and lifestyle changes, it was coded here. If the advertisement was a miracle weight-loss program, such as a "grapefruit diet" or a "miracle-pill diet," or if the advertisement were for liposuction to reduce weight, it was coded as beauty. Other items that fit under this category included advertisements for pain medication, exercise programs and feminine hygiene.

The household category was operationalized to include items for the improvement of the home or the upkeep of the home. This included items on home furnishing, home fashion and house cleaning. It also included pet items, barbecuing essentials and gift registries.

Jewelry items were all items that advertised for specific jewelry purchases or jewelry shops and distributors. This included necklaces, rings, watches and earrings.

The travel category was operationalized as any advertisement that called for the planning of a trip, a place to stay while on a trip or a vacationing spot that should be considered for a trip. This includes advertisements from boards of tourism, airlines, hotels and tour groups.

The tobacco/alcohol category was operationalized to include advertisements that sold cigarettes and alcoholic beverages. The food category was operationalized to include any food items that were not specifically geared toward dieting or health and fitness.

Articles were coded in a similar manner, but included several other key categories. Fashion, beauty, health/fitness, travel, jewelry and household items remained coding categories and were operationalized in the same manner as the advertisements. A miscellaneous category also remained to account for those items not included in the specified coding categories. In addition the categories of sex, etiquette, party planning, checklists, work/finances, celebrities, relationships and social issues.

Sex was operationalized as having to do with sexuality or sexual intercourse. These articles included ways to improve sexual pleasure, how to communicate regarding sex and the best ways to express sexuality.

Etiquette was operationalized to include issues pertaining to manners, politeness and social graces. These items go beyond the "dos and don'ts" of planning but account for ways to avoid faux pas, prevent embarrassing situations and demonstrate polite social manners. Items in this category included how to address thank you notes and what constitutes impoliteness in public.

Party planning pertains to the ways in which people should plan for an event or gathering. These items include themes for parties, what kind of food to serve and party décor tips. These items are more geared toward practical ways to advance toward the goal of having a party as opposed to manner-driven behavior.

Checklists were operationalized as quizzes, outlines and to-do lists geared toward answering questions, reaching goals or assessing behavior. Items coded into this category included a list of items to be accomplished before an event and self-examination quizzes (e.g. "Are you obsessed with yourself? Take our quiz!").

Work/finances is a category operationalized to include items pertaining to work, business, investing and finances. This included items such as how to change jobs, the best way to get the job you want, how to avoid bad investments, how to make more money and how to finance large purchases.

Relationships were coded to include items that pertained to interactions with a husband, fiancée, boyfriend or significant other. These items included articles on better communication within the relationship, how to build consensus with a significant other and what signs point to happiness/unhappiness.

Celebrities is a category that was operationalized to include articles pertaining to celebrity lifestyles, profiles on celebrities or updates on celebrity actions. This category included celebrity gossip columns, celebrity profiles and celebrity weddings. It did not include general fashion tips or advisories based on famous people. For example, if the article focused on Jill Hennessey (formerly of the T.V. show "Law & Order") and what she has been doing since she left TV, it would be coded here. However, if the article were on Jill Hennessey's make up in her latest movie and what products the average person can buy to get that look, the article was coded as beauty.

Social issues was operationalized as addressing important issues that pertained to readers, held some sort of news value and could influence the lives of the reader. This includes articles on sexual assault, domestic violence and divorce as well as articles on news events of the day, such as the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11.

Two coders independently examined each article and advertisement. Intercoder reliability was examined using Scott's Pi and calculated at .92 for advertisements and .83 for articles.

Results

One of the larger criticisms levied against women's magazines is that they are heavily laden with advertisements. With that in mind, the first thing that needed to be assessed was whether bridal magazines followed that trend or not. A chi-square analysis was computed based on whether the coded entry was an article or an advertisement and in which magazine the coded entry fell. Table 1 indicates that bridal magazines are composed of more than 82% advertising and less than 17% articles. Glamour was composed of 63% advertising and 37% articles. The chi square is significant ($\chi 2=$

167.88, df = 1, $p < .001$) and demonstrates a moderate finding (phi = .214). This clearly demonstrates that not only do bridal magazines follow the pattern of heavy advertising set by other women's magazines, but they significantly exceed the degree to which advertising plays a major role in the product.

The next thing to assess was the focus of the magazines. Table 2 outlines the frequencies of each of the types of articles in the two magazines. The table shows that fashion, beauty and relationship issues were the three most common types of articles in Glamour while travel, party planning and household were the three largest categories in Bride's. A chi-square analysis of this data proved significant ($\chi 2 = 393.27$, $p < .001$) demonstrating differences among the categories. A closer examination, however, shows that travel, health, party planning and household are the four cells that contribute the most to significance of the chi square (See Table 3). The oft-criticized categories of fashion and beauty contribute far less to the significance of the analysis. Therefore, while the analysis is significant, the categories of contention are very similar, further demonstrating that the two magazines are not inordinately different in this regard.

Advertisements in these magazines were also analyzed in this manner. Table 4 outlines the descriptive statistics for both Bride's and Glamour in regard to the type of advertisements present. In examining the percentages, the combination of beauty and fashion ads in each of these magazines comprises more than 65 % of the total number of advertising. A Chi-square analysis was significant ($\chi 2 = 1380.62$, $p < .001$, phi = .715), but to more accurately represent the diversity and makeup of the advertising in these magazines, fashion and beauty ads were combined to account for a single category, thereby allowing differences in other categories to be more clearly represented. The second chi-square analysis (see Table 5) also proved to be significant ($\chi 2 = 437.02$, $p < .001$, phi = .402) although it has a smaller value and a weaker effect. In this

examination, there is virtually no difference in the newly created fashion/beauty category between the magazines. The categories that do strongly contribute to the chi square are health, cigarette/alcohol, household, travel and food. Glamour has significantly more food, health and cigarette/alcohol advertising while Brides had significantly more household and travel advertising.

Finally, this study examined the differences between the two magazines in terms of how many articles focused on internal issues and how many focused on external issues. Again, a good portion of the literature involving women's magazines argues that the magazines focus too much on outer beauty and not enough on significant issues within a woman's life. The external category was coded as articles that focused on fashion, beauty and jewelry. These three items were chosen as they clearly are categories that demonstrate and article's attempt to show a woman how to improve her external beauty. The internal category was coded as to include articles on health, children's issues, relationships, family issues and social issues. These categories best typified the wider reach of interests that have been ignored in women's magazines. While we concede that women hold a vast sum of interests that go far beyond these few issues, the categories used here appeared to offer the best variety of internal issues based on what was available. Sex was left out of this analysis, as it did not clearly fall into either category. The spectrum of articles that deal with sex ranged from concerns about first-time sex as a married couple to risqué analyses of how to sexually pleasure a partner. Given this kind of variety in foci, we thought it best to remove it from consideration.

The chi square was again significant ($\chi 2 = 25.63$, $p < .001$) and of modest strength (phi = .220). It demonstrated that Bride's magazine had significantly fewer internal issue articles than Glamour did. It also demonstrated that Bride's magazine had significantly more articles that dealt with these external issues. This analysis again

demonstrates that the bridal magazines not only follow the pattern of women's magazines, but are significantly different in a negative manner.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was not to argue as to the importance or lack of value held by bridal magazines. It was also not an attempt to apply feminist thought, advertising theories or any other mass media spin to this niche publication. Rather, it was an attempt to extend the argument that bridal magazines are a highly read and deterministic piece of American culture and it is important for researchers to examine them. By briefly examining these magazines in contrast to women's magazines, this study has clearly demonstrated that bridal magazines are not all that different from these constantly criticized magazines which are focused at young, single women. When the magazines have shown differences, it is bridal magazines that have been shown to provide significantly more superficial content.

In answering the research questions, it is clear that bridal magazines do have significantly more advertising than their traditional counterparts. More than two-thirds of the advertisements in these magazines is made up of beauty and fashion advertising. This clearly demonstrates that these magazines are both vehicles for advertising and the advertising is focused at externally beautifying women to help them reach a fantasized ideal.

Furthermore, bridal magazines contain far fewer articles that focus on intrinsic issues and improvements. While neither magazine appears to address a wide variety of social and psychological issues, Bride's magazine contains far fewer articles geared toward addressing important bride-oriented issues. The issues of physical health, relationship

health and other issues geared toward a life preparation are eschewed in favor of articles that tell women how a type of makeup or dress will solve their problems.

As Boden (2001) explained, women envision themselves as being brides only once. They have a sense of fantasy in many cases and hope to see this once-in-a-lifetime event turn out in fairy-tale fashion. Bridal magazines set women up to believe that consumerism will help them create the perfect event. This kind of fear-based selling can do little more than damage a woman's self image, a criticism levied against traditional women's magazines for years. As this study has shown, the bridal magazines contain far more of what other researchers have called "damaging" items and does far less to assuage fears in a non-consumer oriented manner.

A few limitations exist in regard to this study. First, it needs to be replicated with other bridal magazines and other women's magazines. While it is highly unlikely that this set of findings is an anomaly, it bears repeating that research findings must be verified through replication. Perhaps in our effort to control for extraneous variables, our selection of two Conde Nast publications was unwise and some how skewed the results. A replication using multiple magazines from a variety of publishing houses would be a logical extension of this work. Second, the study offers little in the realm of theory building. In attempting to demonstrate a finding without falling victim to the inherent limitations of certain theoretical backgrounds, this research could be seen as failing to endorse a theory to help explain its findings. While that assessment could be seen as valid, we instead argue that in creating this piece, we have opened the doors for research of all types. Advertising researchers could apply uses and gratifications to this type of material, while feminist scholars could continue to examine it through the lens of gender bias. The purpose of this piece was to shed light on a niche publication that has a great

deal of influence, a pattern common with often-criticized magazines and an extremely limited set of scholarly work done on it.

Researchers steeped in all backgrounds should be interested in the findings of this study. The purpose here was to begin a dialogue regarding bridal magazines and to assess whether there was any reason to examine their effects further. By comparing Bride's magazine to Glamour, we have clearly demonstrated that the criticisms levied against women's magazines are also applicable against bridal magazines. That being said, further research from a variety of disciplines can also be applied here, as a clear pattern of consumerism and self-image awareness is present in these bridal magazines. If researchers decide to follow this piece and examine bridal magazines, the purpose of this study has been met.

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Table 1: Chi-square analysis of advertising and articles in Glamour and Bride's

		Ad	Article	
Brides	Count	1736	379	2115
	Expected Count	1566.7	548.3	2115.0
	% within Magazine Title	82.1%	17.9%	100.0%
	% within Advertising/Articles	64.2%	40.1%	58.0%
	% of Total	47.6%	10.4%	58.0%
	Std. Residual	4.3	-7.2	
Glamour	Count	967	567	1534
	Expected Count	1136.3	397.7	1534.0
	% within Magazine Title	63.0%	37.0%	100.0%
	% within Advertising/Articles	35.8%	59.9%	42.0%
	% of Total	26.5%	15.5%	42.0%
	Std. Residual	-5.0	8.5	

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Table 2: Descriptive statistics of Bride's and Glamour magazine advertising types

Brides

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Fashion	51	13.5	13.5
Beauty	43	11.3	24.8
Sex	8	2.1	26.9
Health	6	1.6	28.5
Travel	76	20.1	48.5
Etiquette	5	1.3	49.9
Jewelry	9	2.4	52.2
Party Planning	67	17.7	69.9
Celebs	4	1.1	71.0
Checklist	13	3.4	74.4
Relationship	15	4.0	78.4
Work/money	4	1.1	79.4
Household	56	14.8	94.2
Family	4	1.1	95.3
Other	18	4.7	100.0
Total	379	100.0	

Glamour

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Fashion	117	20.6	20.6
Beauty	90	15.9	36.5
Sex	45	7.9	44.4
Health	67	11.8	56.3
Etiquette	18	3.2	59.4
Jewelry	3	.5	60.0
Party Planning	5	.9	60.8
Celebs	47	8.3	69.1
Checklist	15	2.6	71.8
Children	2	.4	72.1
Relationship	74	13.1	85.2
Work/money	13	2.3	87.5
Household	5	.9	88.4
Family	5	.9	89.2
Issues	25	4.4	93.7
Other	36	6.3	100.0
Total	567	100.0	

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Table 3: Chi-square analysis of types of advertisements in Glamour and Bride's

		Brides	Glamour	
Fashion	Count	51	117	168
	Expected Count	67.3	100.7	168.0
	Std. Residual	-2.0	1.6	
Beauty	Count	43	90	133
	Expected Count	53.3	79.7	133.0
	Std. Residual	-1.4	1.2	
Sex	Count	8	45	53
	Expected Count	21.2	31.8	53.0
	Std. Residual	-2.9	2.3	
Health	Count	6	67	73
	Expected Count	29.2	43.8	73.0
	Std. Residual	-4.3	3.5	
Travel	Count	76	0	76
	Expected Count	30.4	45.6	76.0
	Std. Residual	8.3	-6.7	
Etiquette	Count	5	18	23
	Expected Count	9.2	13.8	23.0
	Std. Residual	-1.4	1.1	
Jewelry	Count	9	3	12
	Expected Count	4.8	7.2	12.0
	Std. Residual	1.9	-1.6	
Party Planning	Count	67	5	72
	Expected Count	28.8	43.2	72.0
	Std. Residual	7.1	-5.8	
Celebs	Count	4	47	51
	Expected Count	20.4	30.6	51.0
	Std. Residual	-3.6	3.0	
Checklist	Count	13	15	28
	Expected Count	11.2	16.8	28.0
	Std. Residual	.5	-.4	
Children	Count	0	2	2
	Expected Count	.8	1.2	2.0
	Std. Residual	-.9	.7	
Relationship	Count	15	74	89
	Expected Count	35.7	53.3	89.0

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	Std. Residual	-3.5	2.8	
Work/money	Count	4	13	17
	Expected Count	6.8	10.2	17.0
	Std. Residual	-1.1	.9	
Household	Count	56	5	61
	Expected Count	24.4	36.6	61.0
	Std. Residual	6.4	-5.2	
Family	Count	4	5	9
	Expected Count	3.6	5.4	9.0
	Std. Residual	.2	-.2	
Issues	Count	0	25	25
	Expected Count	10.0	15.0	25.0
	Std. Residual	-3.2	2.6	
Other	Count	18	36	54
	Expected Count	21.6	32.4	54.0
	Std. Residual	-.8	.6	
	Count	379	567	946
	Expected Count	379.0	567.0	946.0
	Std. Residual			

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Table 4: Descriptive statistics of types of advertisements in Bride's and Glamour

Brides

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Fashion	1079	62.2	62.2
Beauty	83	4.8	66.9
Health	9	.5	67.5
Cig/Alcohol	11	.6	68.1
Household	129	7.4	75.5
Travel	217	12.5	88.0
Jewelry	72	4.1	92.2
Other	136	7.8	100.0
Total	1736	100.0	

Glamour

	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Fashion	155	16.0	16.0
Beauty	512	52.9	69.0
Health	114	11.8	80.8
Cig/Alcohol	42	4.3	85.1
Household	19	2.0	87.1
Jewelry	14	1.4	88.5
Other	83	8.6	97.1
Food	28	2.9	100.0
Total	967	100.0	

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Table 5: Chi-square analysis of types of advertising in Glamour and Bride's

		Brides	Glamour	
Fashion/beauty	Count	1162	667	1829
	Expected Count	1174.7	654.3	1829.0
	Std. Residual	-.4	.5	
Health	Count	9	114	123
	Expected Count	79.0	44.0	123.0
	Std. Residual	-7.9	10.6	
Cig/Alcohol	Count	11	42	53
	Expected Count	34.0	19.0	53.0
	Std. Residual	-3.9	5.3	
Household	Count	129	19	148
	Expected Count	95.1	52.9	148.0
	Std. Residual	3.5	-4.7	
Travel	Count	217	0	217
	Expected Count	139.4	77.6	217.0
	Std. Residual	6.6	-8.8	
Jewelry	Count	72	14	86
	Expected Count	55.2	30.8	86.0
	Std. Residual	2.3	-3.0	
Food	Count	0	28	28
	Expected Count	18.0	10.0	28.0
	Std. Residual	-4.2	5.7	
Other	Count	136	83	219
	Expected Count	140.7	78.3	219.0
	Std. Residual	-.4	.5	

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Counting Coup: A 1987-2000 Circulation History of *Native Peoples*, the First National Consumer Magazine about America's First Peoples

AEJMC Magazine Division

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March 26, 2002

AV Needs: Overhead projector

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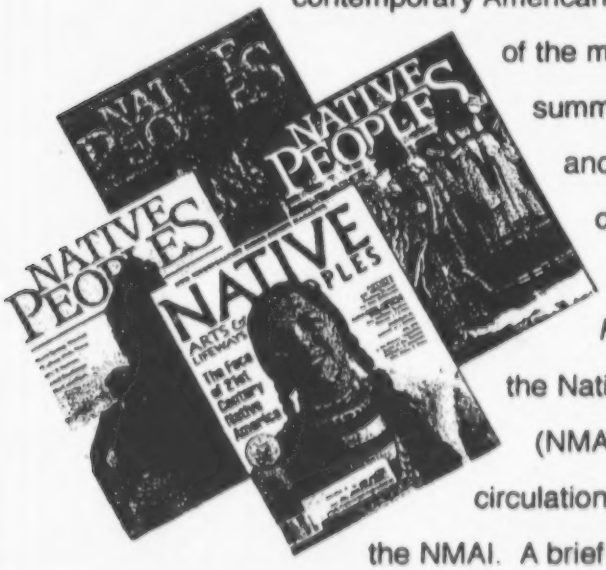
Counting Coup: A 1987-2000 Circulation History of *Native Peoples*, the First National Consumer Magazine about America's First Peoples

ABSTRACT

Since 1826, over two thousand newspapers and periodicals have been published in the United States to tell the stories of American Indians and Alaska Natives. This paper "counts coup" or tells the story of how one of those periodicals, *Native Peoples*, became the most widely circulated, national consumer magazine about contemporary American Indians ever published. This chronicle of the magazine's 1987-2000 circulation summarizes data from secondary sources and generates new oral history primary data from interviews with the founding and current editor/publisher of *Native Peoples* magazine and a consultant to the National Museum of the American Indians (NMAI). It is concluded that the magazine's circulation growth was due to a partnership with the NMAI. A brief history of American Indian periodicals is provided as an introduction. The social, political, and economic forces that may have shaped the growth of such periodicals is discussed to speculate about *Native Peoples'* circulation future.



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AEJMC Magazine Division
March 26, 2002
150-word Abstract

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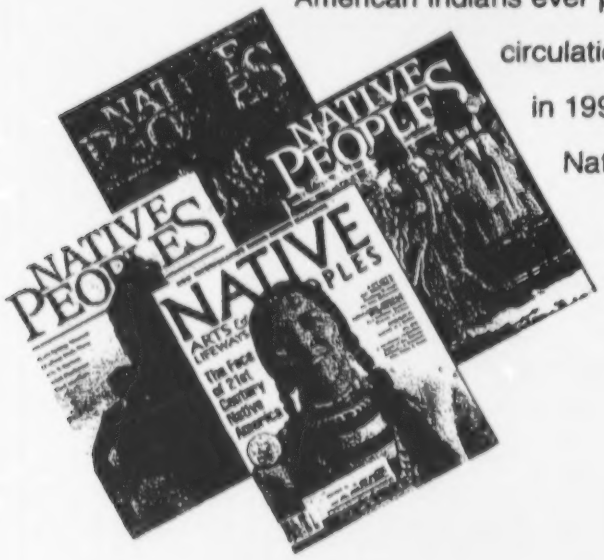
ABSTRACT

Since 1826, over two thousand newspapers and periodicals have been published in the United States about American Indians and Alaska Natives. This paper "counts coup" or tells the story of how one of those periodicals, *Native Peoples*, became the most widely circulated, national consumer magazine about contemporary American Indians ever published by chronicling its 1987-2000 circulation. Circulation reached an all-time high in 1993-1999 due to a partnership with the National Museum of the American Indians.



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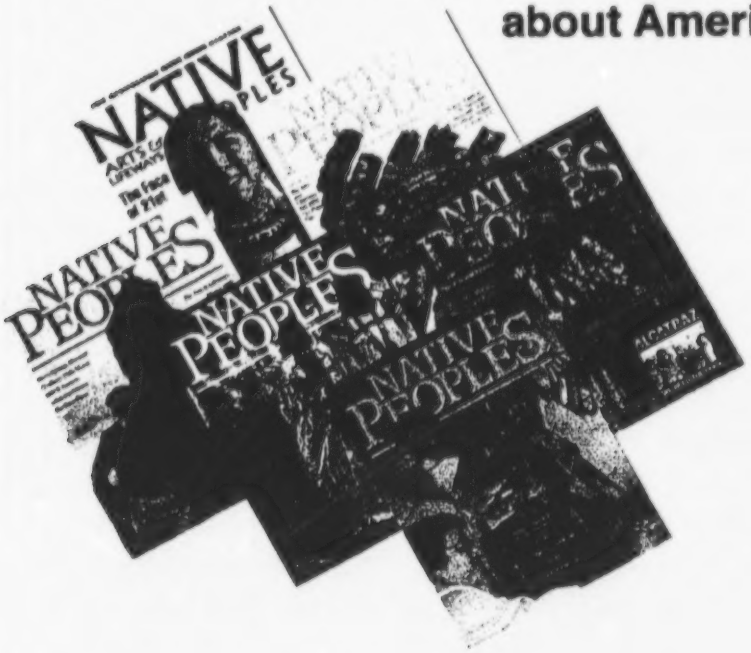
AEJMC Magazine Division
March 26, 2002
75-word Abstract

Counting Coup: A 1987-2000 Circulation History of *Native Peoples*, the First National Consumer Magazine about America's First Peoples



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March 26, 2002

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Counting Coup: A 1987-2000 Circulation History of *Native Peoples*, the First National Consumer Magazine about America's First Peoples

Counting coup is a term of the Plains Indians of North America that refers to the telling of true stories, often in a ceremonial and public way, about brave acts. *Coup* is a French-derived word for "stroke" or "blow," and warriors earned a number of coup for specific deeds, such as using a hand or weapon to touch an enemy while he was alive.[1] For almost one hundred seventy-five years, since 1826, over two thousand newspapers and periodicals have been published in the United States to count coup, or tell the stories of American Indians.[2] This paper counts coup by telling the story of how one of those periodicals, *Native Peoples,* became the most widely circulated consumer magazine about contemporary American Indians to be published on a national scale, based on its 1987-2000 circulation numbers.

INTRODUCTION

The growth rate of the number of magazines published in America was explosive in the twentieth century. In 1890, there were about three thousand periodicals published in the United States; by 1998 the number of periodicals, trade or business publications, and technical and scholarly journals had grown to ten thousand, of which four thousand were categorized as consumer magazines.[3]

A definition of periodicals and consumer magazines

Periodicals are those publications that appear periodically, but more frequently than yearly, and contain content that normally can be found in newspapers and magazines. This paper uses Daniel F. Littlefield, Jr.'s and James W. Parins's definition for American Indian periodicals as those publications whose primary purpose is to publish information about contemporary American Indians or Alaska Natives and their concerns. This categorization does not include journals and other periodicals that focus

strictly on ethnohistorical, archeological or historical subjects, and also does not include Canadian or Mexican publications.[4] Periodicals categorized as consumer magazines are publications created for popular consumption, contain advertising, and are sold by subscription or on the newsstand.[5]

Native Peoples was a periodical published quarterly from 1987 to 1999, and now is published six times a year, with content dedicated to the sensitive portrayal of the arts and lifeways of the native peoples of America. It can be categorized as a consumer magazine because it contains advertising, is sold on the newsstand and by subscriptions, and was created for popular, though niche, consumption.[6]

A brief history of American Indian periodicals

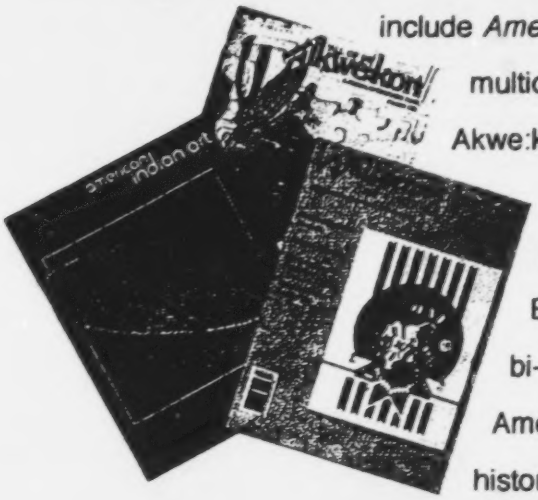
Native Peoples is not the first periodical ever published about or by American Indians, nor is it the only one currently published. Prior to 1924 there were about fifteen hundred known American Indian newspapers and periodicals published in the United States. Some of the earliest intertribal periodicals included *The American Indian Magazine*, *Wassaja*, and *Indian Teepee Magazine*. Owned and produced by American Indians, *The American Indian Magazine* was published as a quarterly journal in 1913 to 1920 for the Society of American Indians, an intertribal organization in Columbus, Ohio. *Wassaja* was published from 1916 to 1923 by Carlos Montezuma, a one-time member of the Society of American Indians. *Indian Teepee Magazine* was published in 1920 by the American Indian Order and included American Indians of South America.[7]

The era of 1925 to 1970 experienced positive growth in American Indian publications as over five hundred periodicals published or edited by American Indians or Alaska Natives or periodicals about contemporary American Indian issues were created. American Indian periodicals founded after 1925 included *American Indian Life*, produced by John Collier, executive secretary of the American Defense Association; *Indian Affairs*, originally published in 1933 by the National Association on Indian Affairs; *The First American*, initially published in 1937 by Indians affiliated with the American

Indian Federation; *The American Indian*, first issued by the American Association on Indian Affairs in 1943; and the National Congress of American Indians' *Newsletter*, founded in 1945. In the 1950s *The Amerindian*, a national news magazine about Indian issues, was first published in 1952 at Chicago, and *Smoke Signals* was initially published in 1956 for the Colorado River Tribes.[8]

Economic and political movements in American Indian communities resulted in a dramatic increase in American Indian publications in the 1960s. More periodicals were founded in that decade than had been established from 1925 to 1960. More recent American Indian periodicals included *Many Smokes*, founded in 1962; *Indian Voices* created in 1963; *American Indian News*, originated by the Indian League of the Americas in 1968; and *The Indian*, first published in 1969 by the American Indian Leadership Council. In 1970, more periodicals were founded than in any other prior year. *The Native*, *League of Nations Pan-Am Indian*, and *Rainbow People* are but a few of the periodicals established in that year.[9]

Magazines currently published about contemporary American Indian culture include *American Indian Art Magazine*; *Native Americas*, a multidisciplinary journal published quarterly by Akwe:kon Press of Cornell University; *News from Native California*; *Winds of Change*, published by the American Indian Science & Engineering Society,[10] and *Whispering Wind*, a bi-monthly magazine about past and present American Indian crafts, culture, powwows, and history that was established in 1967 and is published by Written Heritage in Louisiana.[11]



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Native Peoples becomes the first American Indian national consumer magazine

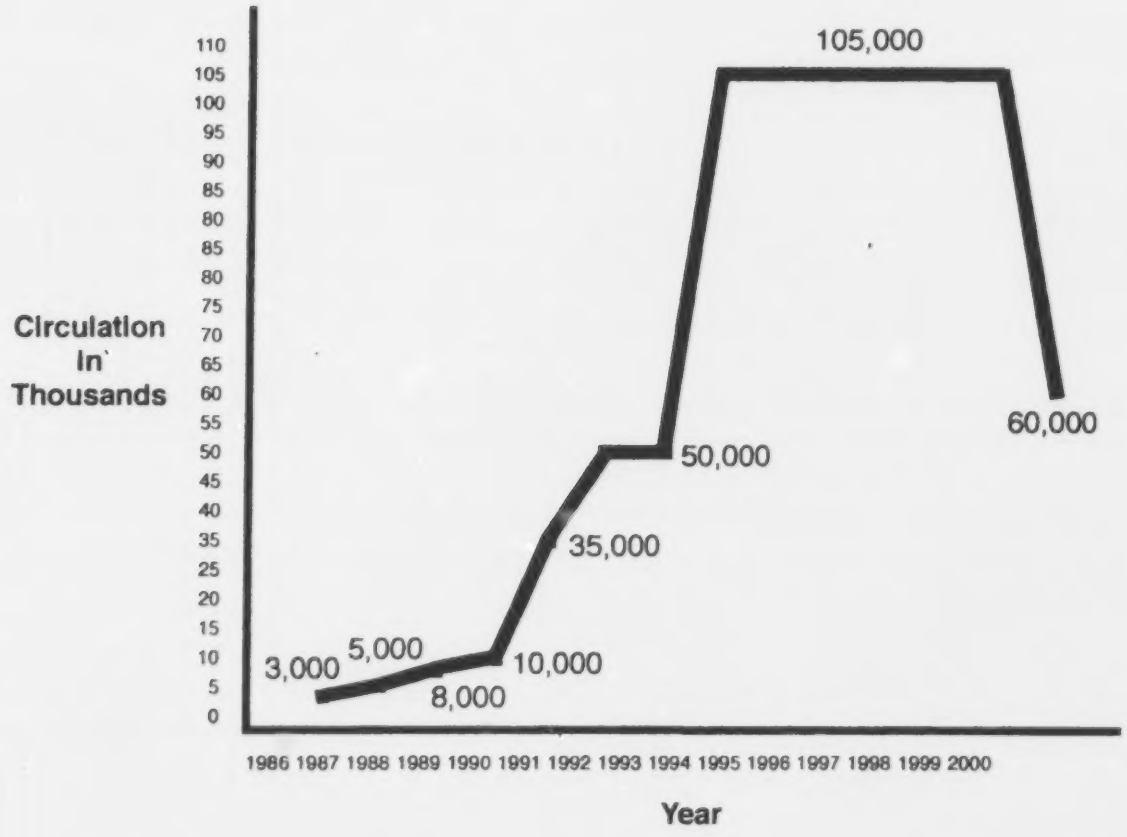
None of the magazines published about American Indian issues has ever reached the national circulation rate of *Native Peoples*. *Winds of Change* has a circulation of sixty thousand, but it covers primarily educational topics related to career development plus some information on tribal culture and activity. The current circulation of *American Indian Art Magazine* is twenty-six thousand, and its content focuses primarily on collectible American Indian art.[12] *Whispering Wind* has a circulation of seventeen thousand six hundred, or twenty-four thousand when its 2.2 pass-along readership is included.[13] *Country Road Chronicles* has a circulation of fifteen thousand; *Native Americas*, eighty-five hundred; *News from Native California*, forty-five hundred, and it covers only California Indian culture and concerns; *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, nineteen hundred; *American Indian Quarterly*, one thousand; and *American Indian Studies* is published irregularly, with no circulation listed by *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory*, 38th Edition, for 2000.[14]

The circulation of *Native Peoples* magazine started at three thousand in 1987, reached one hundred five thousand by 1993 and continued at that rate as audited by the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) until December 1999 (see Figure 1 on page 5). The editorial focus of the magazine is on the arts, culture, history, future, and lifeways of native peoples of the Americas.[15]

Why circulation is important

Circulation, which is the sum of the number of copies sold by subscription and on the newsstands, can be a critical determining factor in a magazine's success. The rates for advertising, the primary source of magazine revenue, are determined by circulation figures.

In 1987, advertising, a prime source of revenue for magazine publishers, began to drop, and by 1989 industrywide circulation revenues for consumer magazines were



Source: For years 1987-1989 and 2000, interview with Gary Avey. For years 1990-1999, *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory , 1988-89*, 27th Edition, Volume 1 (New York: R. R. Bowker, Division of Reed Publishing, USA), 1491; *1989-90*, 28th Edition, Volume 1, 1629; *1990-91*, 29th Edition, Volume 1, 1772; *1991-92*, 30th Edition, Volume 1, 1873; *1992-93*, 31st Edition, Volume 1, 2015; *1993-94*, 32nd Edition, Volume 2, 2285; *1994-95*, 33rd Edition, Volume 2, 2499; *1996*, 34th Edition, Volume 2, 2734; *1997*, 35th Edition, Volume 2, 2897.

Figure 1. Circulation History of *Native Peoples* Magazine, 1987-2000

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outpacing advertising revenues. This trend persisted as the 1990s began, and publishers often found themselves forced to increase spending on editorial content and production to retain subscribers' interest in their magazines. During these types of conditions, circulation directors can assume more significant roles in deciding editorial content, including the design of the magazine cover.[16]

Native Peoples is a "grass-roots publication," says Gary Avey, its founding and current publisher/editor, that did not have the commercial resources required to employ highly expensive marketing techniques to build its circulation.[17] So, how **did** this magazine increase its circulation to become the first national consumer magazine about American Indians? This paper recounts the story of its 1987-2000 circulation history.

COUNTING COUP

1986-1987: A task on a to-do list

In 1986, Avey, a non-Indian, was deputy director of the Heard Museum in Phoenix, Arizona. Among his list of to-do tasks at the museum was "create a magazine."[18] Avey, a graphic designer and art director with years of experience as an editor of *Arizona Highways* magazine, which had increased to a circulation of about half a million during his tenure, completed that to-do item by the fall of 1987. He designed a full-color, thirty-two-page magazine that was owned by the museum and mailed to its three thousand members as a membership benefit.[19]

Avey derived the magazine's name from the subtext of some exhibits at the Heard Museum. He recalls:

> There's no such word as lifeways. Using it culturally sounded too steep. I was uncomfortable with Indian. North American, South American didn't describe it. Then one night, I was wandering around the Heard Museum, looking at some of the exhibits, and there was this phrase native peoples in the subtext. Native peoples of the Southwest. It was in some tribal papers. So, I checked to see if anyone was using the name [*as a magazine title*]. No one was.[20]

The first issue of the magazine was launched on September 14, 1987. One of the first copies was given to Pope John Paul, who was visiting Phoenix for a Heard Museum-sponsored Native American conference of fourteen thousand delegates that included Catholic clergy, area leaders and representatives of American Indian groups. According to Avey, "It just happened, it was coincidental, that this was the target of the first issue of the magazine. I had always admired and continued to admire the work of bringing people together, so it just happened that way."[21] With the conference being sponsored by the Heard Museum, in his position as the museum's deputy director Avey was able to capitalize on the pope's visit to Phoenix to provide some high visibility for the magazine's launch by asking a papal assistant to personally give the pope a copy of the first issue.

This first issue included features such as "Naming Beverly's Baby", about welcoming new life in the village of Shungopavi; "Numkena: Architect, Painter, Theatrical Designer", a biographical sketch of an American Indian renaissance man; "Living on the Edge", about how the Seri strike a balance between land and sea; "Generation to Generation", a photographic essay by a noted Tewa photographer recording tradition; "The Barry Goldwater Center for Cross-Cultural Communication;" and "Navajo National Monument", about how scattered jewels of the Anasazi barely survived discovery.[22]

Avey designed the first issue of the magazine in two and a half months. He hired a person to assume his responsibilities at the Heard Museum and accomplished most of his design work in a second-floor studio. "I burned up the phone lines and networked with friends in publishing around the country and at fifty-seven different museum publications, " he says. He reviewed numerous publications and some of the magazines he liked included *Discovery* out of San Francisco, *Cryptic*, also from the Bay area, *Smithsonian Magazine* and *Natural History*.[23]

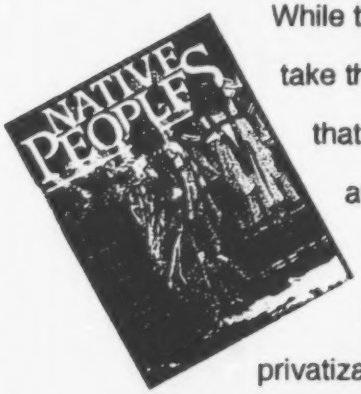
In the first year the magazine was published with grant funds from the Burlington Northern Foundation, but still sent under the sole auspices of the Heard Museum.[24] Feature stories in the four issues of 1988 included "Kinalda," about the pathway to Navajo womanhood (Winter 1988); "The Dancing Healer," about how a medical doctor absorbs a new understanding of healing (Spring 1988); and "Rocky Boy," the Montana gathering on the Pow Wow Trail (Summer 1988).[25]

By the end of 1988 the magazine was beginning to outgrow the Heard Museum. Avey explains:

> The second year actually we had a grant lined up for it *[to pay for publishing the magazine]*. Some of the trustees thought the magazine had become too large for the museum, which I thought was interesting since that was the goal. There were some who thought it should be more of a house organ *[a publication only about the museum]*.[26]

The Heard Museum's board of trustees was concerned that the magazine's editorial content had gone beyond that traditionally offered in a membership magazine, so Avey decided, with the board's approval, to publish the magazine independently. "The magazine had taken on a life of its own, which was actually my plan, to take it private, but just not to be parochial," Avey says.[27] It was time to explore alternative ways of publishing the magazine.

1988: Magazine goes private



While the museum's board of trustees agreed that it was time to take the magazine private, they did not want it to change so much that it would no longer reflect its original purpose and its origins at the Heard Museum. Several commercial organizations had tried to buy the magazine, but the Heard's board of trustees was not comfortable with that approach to privatization. Avey could not afford to buy the magazine, so he

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proposed to the museum director that he try to raise a small amount of capital from independent investors. The Heard Museum would become the first affiliate of the magazine, rather than the owner. The magazine's original board of directors comprised the five investors who Avey recruited: Dr. John Coy from Phoenix, Dusty Loo from Colorado Springs, Colorado, Jerome Bess from New York, Frank Gilmartin from New York and Tony DePrima. Later, Gene Keluche, a Wintoo Indian from Northern California who is chief executive officer of International Conference Resorts, Inc., and Ivan Makil, president of the Salt River Community, joined the board.[28] Eventually the board of directors grew and Avey recruited an impressive range of advisors as an honorary committee that has included Janine Pease-Windy Boy, former U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater, Osage prima ballerina Maria Tallchief, former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall, U.S. Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, former Chief of the Oklahoma Cherokees Wilma Mankiller, LaDonna Harris, Robert Redford and W. Ann Reynolds.[29]

Avey, together with the small group of investors whom he knew from his half a lifetime spent as an editor and graphic designer in Phoenix and several other cities, raised about $150,000 and formed a corporation named Media Concepts Group, Inc. to publish *Native Peoples*. The Heard Museum, as the first affiliate, provided its membership mailing list of three thousand, which was the official circulation rate based on paid subscribers when the publishing organization incorporated and *Native Peoples* became a commercial, consumer publication that included selective advertising. The initial subscription rate was eighteen dollars, and though the rate has varied slightly over the years to a low of fourteen dollars in 1998, the subscription rate has essentially stayed constant at eighteen dollars with a newsstand price of five dollars per copy.[30]

1989-1990: Affiliates added to swell the mailing lists

Throughout 1989 and 1990 Avey continued his strategy of recruiting museums and other organizations as affiliates which would provide their membership mailing lists

to increase the circulation of *Native Peoples* magazine. The Wheelwright Museum in New Mexico became the second affiliate, and the Heye Foundation in New York became the third. Numerous other affiliates came on board over the years. Avey describes the building of those early affiliate partnerships:

> The affiliate relationships worked because we were publishing non-fiction, really at the scholarly level, about Native American topics, which many enlightened museums wanted their members to know. Also, we could do things the museums could not. So, we were trying to broaden the circulation base, since the costs of doing a publication on this topic were costly. By addressing the information from different museums, the magazine became a tangible benefit of membership.[31]

Adding these affiliates increased the magazine's subscribers to five thousand in late 1988, to eight thousand in 1989 and then to ten thousand in 1990.[32] Creating a study guide for the magazine, so that it could be utilized as an educational tool in public schools, also increased its circulation.[33]

Avey did not have a formal marketing plan to build the magazine, but he did identify its primary target audience of thirty-five- to sixty-year-old, upscale Native American history and art enthusiasts with annual income levels of $50,000 or more. By 1991, with limited marketing implementation, the magazine's circulation grew to paying subscribers of thirty-five thousand, with an additional five thousand copies sold on newsstands.[34]

1991: National Museum of the American Indian becomes a partner

In 1989, The U.S. Congress ratified complicated, key legislation that authorized the formation of a National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI).[35] The Smithsonian Institution assumed responsibility for meeting the congressional requirement to raise one-third of the stipulated funds, $36.7 million, from private donors. Avey recalls meeting with Robert McCormick, then secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, before

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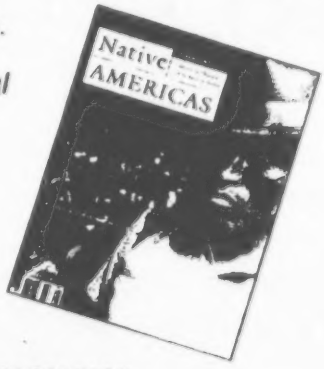
this legislation was actually passed by the U.S. Congress, to discuss how the George Gustave Heye Center might become part of a larger national museum of American Indians.

At their first meeting, Avey and McCormick spent several hours together in a small curatorial shed on the north side of the Wheelwright Museum in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Avey was impressed with McCormick's sincerity and said that he and *Native Peoples* magazine would support the development of a national American Indian museum in any way they could.[36] Their beginning dialogues set a foundation for the discussions that would come two years later in 1991 as the membership drive for the NMAI was at full speed and the Smithsonian needed a communication vehicle for outreach to its NMAI-targeted current and prospective members.

Dick Taft, a management/fund-raising/marketing consultant to the NMAI, working with their senior management, initiated discussions with Avey in the early 1990s about how the NMAI and *Native Peoples* might form a partnership taht would beneift both the the museum and the magazine. Taft, who was seeking to help NMAI create a sizable membership for fund-raising purposes, knew that the museum needed a publication that could serve as a membership benefit. However, the cost—both in dollars and effort—of launching a new magzine seemed prohibitive at the time, given other priorities. Taft therefore thought it would be wise for the NMAI to partner with *Native Peoples* and advised museum management to consider an affiliation, at least until such times that it would be in a position to launch its own publication.



Taft had looked at other publications, including *Aboriginal World* (possibly *Aboriginal Voices*, a quarterly Canadian magazine about the evolving Native American arts and cultures), *Southwestern Art*, and *Native Americas* (published by Cornell University) as potential partner publications. But *Native Peoples* seemed like the logical choice due to its broad consumer

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focus. "All of us at the museum felt that *Native Peoples* was very readable and colorful. Worth every penny paid for it."[37] The next step was to see if a partnership was viable.

Taft contacted Avey to schedule a meeting. "I flew out to Phoenix and met with this lovely guy, Gary Avey, and his wife. I examined their financial documents and, while they had a highly successful publication editorially and intellectually, it was clear that they could use some help financially."[38] Most importantly, Taft determined that the causes espoused in *Native Peoples* matched the NMAI's mission. Maggie Bertin, acting director of the NMAI campaign, confirms that her discussions with Avey over the past four years have revealed that the NMAI and *Native Peoples* had a combined sense of purpose.

> We are on the same path. We believe in the same things. We believe in the increase and diffusion of knowledge. We believe in promoting native ways, native lifestyles, native artists. So, there are many areas where both the museum and *Native Peoples* converge. I've talked to Gary [*Avey*] about that on several occasions.[39]

Taft, working with NMAI senior management, struck a deal with Avey whereby NMAI, as an affiliate, would supply member mailing lists and Media Concepts Group, Inc. would fulfill to these members with its magazine. It was agreed that the magazine would regularly include a section about the NMAI and its development efforts.

"We struck a deal financially that everyone felt was fair," said Taft. "Because we were buying in bulk, we set a per-year subscription cost that was substantilly lower than the newsstand or commercial rate for the magazine. We started at eight dollars per year and created certain points, based on the number of members fulfilled, where NMAI would get price breaks. The more we bought, the lower our unit price." Taft adds, "This was a very good deal for both sides, not at all exploitive. After all, *Native Peoples'* basic costs were already in place and to print more copies incurs only incremental costs. We could have offered a small premium over the per unit price, but we wanted to be good partners and help to ensure the finacial health of *Native Peoples*."[40]

As the NMAI membership grew toward seventy thousand, the annual payment to *Native Peoples* peaked at about $500,000 a great help to Media Concepts Group, Inc. and a reasonable investment for the NMAI. Editorially, the NMAI did directly prepare certain copy to be submitted to Avey as editor, and he retained full editorial and distribution responsibility.[41]

1993: Circulation reaches an all-time high

During 1991 through 1993 Avey maintained the integrity of the magazine's original editorial focus. Feature articles included "Roadways to Native America" (Spring 1991), "World Eskimo-Indian Olympics" (Fall 1991), "Adding a Breath to Zuni Life" (Winter 1992), "Our Blue Lake Lands" (Spring 1992), and "Understanding the Past through Hopi Oral Tradition (Winter 1993). The Winter 1992 issue featured "Creating a Museum for the 21st Century," a progress report on the NMAI, and the Winter 1993 issue offered the "NMAI Report," four pages of news about the NMAI.[42]

Meanwhile, the NMAI began investing heavily in promoting membership through direct mail. Using a respected direct mail firm, the NMAI tested hundreds of different lists, inclusing Smithsonian lists. Taft comments, "Our results were exceptional at the very beginning, with Smithsonian lists producing superb returns along with certain other select lists. Returns on mailings often produced over 2 percent, making the program profitable earlier than in most comparable situations."[43]

Taft further explains, "Our average mai package cost might be $350,000 per thousand. So, if we mailed say a hundred thousand pieces for $35,000, we could bring in two thousand new members at $20 per member, or $40,000, actually making money. Many new members would send more than $20, making our average gift about $26, so

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our judgment on the value of the membership program turned out to be right. People loved the cause."[44]

In addtion, Taft states, the museum found member renewals averaged close to 70 percent, making it possible to grow the membership quite quickly. "Without taking away any credit from *Native Peoples*, which was very helpful in our development," says Taft, "people were obviously investing in the cause. Consumer magazines don't get 70-percent renewal rates. They are lucky to get even 50 percent." Taft adds, "We ended up investing (*millions of dollars*) to build our members, but can you imagine what *Natives Peoples* would have had to invest if faced with normal commercial renewal rates? Millions more." By 1993, seventy thousand people were committed to continue buying that cause.[45]

1994-1999: Circulation remains constant

In 1994-1995, NMAI mailings had begun to saturate many of the lists it used, and acquisition rates were declining. Even Smithsonian lists, which had been among its finest producers, were not yielding a front-end profit, with returns often coming in at less the 1 percent. It is common for many nonprofit organizations to spend more than a dollar to get back a dollar, given the long-term potential inherent in a membership program. However, the NMAI had many other areas within its campaign in which it needed to invest.

Museum management, guided by Taft, decided to gradually reduce its investment in mail acquisitions to limits its short-term losses, and instead sought to stabilize membership in the fifty-five thousand to sixty-five thousand range. They predicted that before long other methods, including the Internet and certain marketing strategies, might be more cost-effective in expanding the membership base while mail could focus primarily on renewals and special projects.The NMAI kept the *Native*

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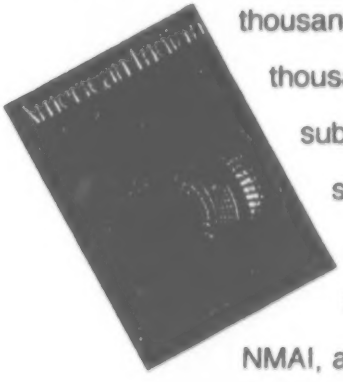
Peoples mailings constant at seventy thousand, which supported the stable maintenance of the total circulation of the magazine at one hundred five thousand.[46]

Both Taft and Bertin indicate that the NMAI's satisfaction with *Native Peoples* magazine and their subscriber/member relationship remained highly positive throughout their association. According to Taft, "*Native Peoples* is a fine magazine and its wonderful editorial content has never faltered. We had a very good relationship with the magazine."[47] But from the beginning of its affiliation, the NMAI had informed Avey that their partnership would be a temporary relationship, and that when the museum was ready, it would publish its own magazine as a member benefit.

December 1999: Partnership ends

By 1999, sufficient campaign fund-raising goals had been met to break ground on the site for the building that would house the NMAI. This achievement, and the ceremonial mark of a new millennium, positioned the NMAI to decide to publish its own magazine by 2000. The Fall 1999 issue of *Native Peoples* was the last issue distributed to a combined mailing list of the seventy thousand NMAI members and the thirty-five thousand other subscribers for a total circulation of one hundred five thousand. That Fall 1999 issue of *Native Peoples* sent to subscribers had a special brown-paper cover wrap to let subscribers know that if they wanted to continue receiving *Native Peoples* magazine, they would need to subscribe to it independently of their membership subscription to the NMAI, and most did. For some subscribers this was the first time that they became aware that *Native Peoples* was actually not an official publication of the Smithsonian, or the NMAI, but was a consumer magazine published by a separate, commercial company.



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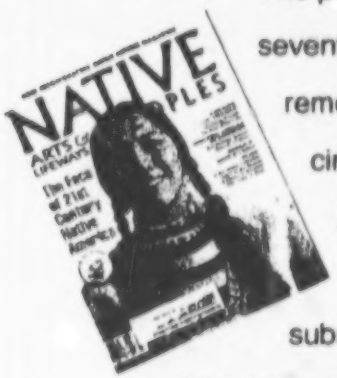
2000: On its own again with affiliates



The partnership with the NMAI ended in December 1999 and the seventy thousand-member circulation list of the museum was removed from the magazine's use. This caused *Native Peoples'* circulation to drop to fifty-five thousand. By combining *Native Artists*, another magazine published by Media Concepts Group, Inc., with *Native Peoples*, and merging the two subscription lists, this increased *Native Peoples'* circulation to sixty thousand. The other affiliate relationships remained intact.[48]

Beyond 2000: Discussion

The Native American Journalists Association says:

> Only in recent times, with the advent of modern communications technology, have the Native media progressed from a local and regional focus to a national and international scope to meet the communication needs of Native people.[49]

But Jeannette Henry wrote in 1968 that the United States did not yet have a national American Indian press.[50] Littlefield and Parins claimed in 1986 that America was on the verge of developing that national American Indian press due to the growth of American Indian publications in the 1960s and 1970s.[51]

Has the time come when a national American Indian consumer magazine can reach and maintain an unprecedented circulation rate? *Native Peoples*, a national consumer magazine about contemporary American Indian issues, appeared first on the scene in 1987, but it took until 1993 for its circulation to reach one hundred five thousand, and now in 2000, that circulation has dropped to sixty thousand.

America of the 1960s and the 1970s experienced extreme levels of economic change, social reform, and political activism by and for American Indians. It was those

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historical forces such as American Indian self-determinism more than any other factors that accounted for the birth of the record number of American Indian publications.[52] But even the economic, social, and political forces of those two decades did not guarantee sufficient influence to significantly drive up the American Indian periodicals' circulation rates. And while there has been continuing Indian activism and evolution in the U.S. culture regarding American Indians, the nation of the 1980s and 1990s did not evidence the earlier years' political militancy about American Indian issues.[53]

The year 1993 appeared to be a landmark time for American Indians. The United Nations (UN) declared 1993 the Year of the World's Indigenous Peoples. This was an international public relations project designed to draw attention to the significance of aboriginal peoples and their concerns. Suzan Shown Harjo, in a 1996 chronicle of the progress that American Indians have made in the twentieth century, stated that the UN's attempts to generate discussions focused on contemporary Native issues failed, and that no concrete plans were made by any of the nation-states. She supported her argument by citing that the Indigenous People's Summit convened in October 1993 by Nobelist Rigoberta Menchu in Mexico City, Mexico, concluded that the UN's Year campaign did not result in any meaningful discussions or concrete activities.[54]

Besides social and political factors, financial realities also greatly influence a magazine's circulation growth. It normally costs millions of dollars to start up and build circulation of a new magazine.[55] Avey utilized his skills as a professional fund raiser to secure the financing needed to produce the magazine, but the $150,000 of seed monies he started with were nowhere near the millions of dollars needed to finance a sophisticated, massive marketing campaign. He created *Native Peoples* as a museum publication, using the Heard Museum's membership list on which to base the magazine's original circulation. Because he could not afford alternative marketing strategies, Avey continued to depend on a fortuitous strategy of partnering with organizations which could offer *Native Peoples* as a membership benefit to generate

the magazine's climb to its circulation peak of one hundred five thousand. He practices that policy today by continuing to add affiliates such as most recent group, the American Indian College Fund.[56]

The editorial quality of *Native Peoples* magazine has always been highly respected.[57] The magazine's content depicts the realities of contemporary American Indian culture and has exerted its own influence on dispelling American Indian stereotypes. While Avey has maintained the integrity of the magazine's original mission to portray Native lifeways, its content has been unquestionably impacted by the financial demand to increase its circulation. During its affiliation with the NMAI, the magazine featured significant content, including the cover of the Fall/Winter 1996 issue, dedicated to promoting the goals of the NMAI. While Avey may have chosen to feature some coverage about the NMAI even without an affiliate relationship with the museum, the quantity and quality of the coverage he did offer, and how it was produced, was driven not directly by more objective journalistic concerns, but by the economic necessity of the NMAI's circulation role in providing two-thirds of the magazine's subscribers.

Avey remains dedicated to maintaining high editorial standards and plans to increase ad revenues by broadening the focus of the magazine and expanding its advertisers. But the fiscal management realities of publishing may continue to impact editorial content if the magazine's advertising revenues drop due to its circulation dropping. As Taft summarizes, "I don't mean to take anything away from Gary [*Avey*]. He showed a lot of hutzpah. He was a bulldog, the one who made the magazine and the deal with NMAI happen. But how would they have built the magazine if the NMAI had not come along?"[58]

As Taft emphasizes, the market niche for American Indian publications remains narrow. This is especially true if this niche is defined as being composed solely of American Indians. The American Indian population at the time of first European contact has been estimated at six to nine million, and it reached an all-time low of 237,196 in

1900, the historic nadir of American Indian population.[59] Though the U.S. American Indian population is on an upswing, it is still statistically a small segment of the total U.S. population. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, the total U.S. American Indian and Alaska Native population was 2.2 million, just less than 1 percent of the total U.S. population. Demographically, almost half of this population is urban and the trend of American Indians to relocate from reservations and rural areas to cities continues. About 50 percent of the U.S. American Indian population lives west of the Mississippi River, 29 percent in the South, 17 percent in the Midwest and 6 percent in the Northeast. The four states of Oklahoma, California, Arizona, and New Mexico are home to about one hundred thousand American Indians and have the highest concentration of American Indian populations. Agewise the American Indian population is young: in 1990, 39 percent (as compared to 29 percent of the U.S population) of the American Indian population was under twenty years old. The median age was twenty-six years as compared to the U.S median age of thirty-three years.[60]

Though American Indians' educational attainment rose sharply between 1970 and 1990 (and part of this rise was due to changes in racial identification), their educational levels remain lower than those of the general U.S. population. In 1990, 66 percent of the 1,080,000 American Indians twenty-five years old and over were high school graduates as compared to 75 percent of the same U.S. population. About 9 percent of American Indians hold bachelor's degrees or higher, as compared to 20 percent of the total U.S. population.[61]

Just how narrow a market niche of only American Indians is can be better understood when the income levels of American Indians, who historically have been the most impoverished population in the United States,[62] are revealed. In 1990, the median family income of American Indians was $21,750 (in 1989 dollars), which is 31 percent lower than the U.S. family's median income of $29,000. For married-couple American Indian families, 71 percent of the total American Indian population, the

median income was $28,287; for single-female householders, 27 percent of the same population, the median income was $10,742.[63]

The demographic changes American Indians have experienced in the past two decades, particularly the prevailing trend of American Indians to move from reservation lands and rural areas to cities, have resulted in a heightened need for American Indians to develop a more pan-tribal identity, which American Indian consumer magazines can aid in informing, but a pan-tribal identity is not cohesive or readily defined.[64] Avey also says that the market niche for Native American publications is hard to characterize.

> The niche hadn't existed before when I presented it to the Heard Museum's board of directors. I was supposed to know what the market was and, of course, you couldn't tell them because there hadn't been a publication like this before. So, I had no idea. However, I had based it on the fact that there was fairly an interest at some point in the population in the arts and lifeways and the cultures of Native America.[65]

Native Peoples' Web site provides a statistical snapshot through a readership survey conducted by Behavior Research, Inc. in Phoenix. The magazine's 45,570 readers, which include a 3.5 pass-along readership, are characterized demographically as: ethnically, 14 percent are Native Americans; agewise, 44 percent are twenty-five to fifty-four years old; financially, 48 percent have annual incomes of $55,000 or higher; genderwise, 6 percent are female, 35 percent male; educationally, 67 percent are college graduates and 33 percent have postgraduate degrees; and professionally, 74 percent are employed in upper- to middle-management career positions. Further, 60 percent attend powwows, dances, and Indian art markets; 75 percent attend at least one Native American art exhibit annually; 40 percent make at least two purchases, spending at least $500 a year on Native American art; and 46 percent read at least one other magazine.[66]

Targeting *Native Peoples* at an audience defined as thirty-five- to sixty-year-old, upscale American Indians with annual income levels of $50,000 or more may have

severely hampered its circulation growth. Avey's circulation challenge may now be to find ways to broaden the narrow American Indian publication niche market. Perhaps he will plan to redefine and broaden his target audiences in response to the need to increase circulation and thereby improve revenues.

Avey indicated that several companies have attempted to buy *Native Peoples* magazine. In the current magazine publishing industry there are only two ways to enlarge a portfolio of titles: create a new magazine or buy one that is already publishing.[67] Avey declined to name specific companies due to the confidentiality of these business matters, but there are apparently media conglomerates in the marketplace who are interested in purchasing *Native Peoples* magazine as a means to expand their folio and increase their company's earnings. Large media companies may have, and be willing to expend, the resources required to expand its circulation to even greater heights by financing marketing efforts to expand *Native Peoples'* subscriber audiences and newsstand exposure.[68]

The book publishing industry has seen in recent years a marked increase in the reader demand catered to since 1900 for anthropological writings about American Indians. *Publisher's Weekly*, a trade news publication, attributed this heightened demand to the impression films such as *Dances with Wolves* made, which led to an increased interest in books with themes that reexamine American Indian stereotypes from an Indian perspective. Some of this interest comes from the thousands of American Indians who have attended college since the 1960s. These students created a whole new audience whose thirst for American Indian literature resulted in a 50-percent increase in published American Indian books over the four years of 1987-1991. During that same time period, colleges increased their course offerings in American Indian related subjects, in which more than just American Indian students enrolled, thus exposing a mainstream audience to American Indian publications and reinforcing the demand. This broader audience's demand for American Indian reading material is further reinforced by an increasing interest in spiritualism and environmentalism,

frequently foundational themes in American Indian literature. To meet reader demands, university press publishers and other major publishers have launched numerous series of American Indian literature and history books. These books have not only provided a deeper and broader range of American Indian subject matter from which can be drawn magazine editorial content, but they have also encouraged more writers, editors and photographers to produce publishable material about contemporary American Indians.[69]

Scholarly journals in the past three decades have also reflected an explosion of interest in American Indian historiography. Since 1970, the older, more established scholarly journals have published a growing number and range of articles about Native topics from more diverse perspectives, and several new journals dedicated to American Indian culture and history have appeared.[70] While these book and journal publishing efforts have fostered a growing audience that American Indian publications such as consumer magazines can tap into synergistically to increase their own circulations, magazine publishers may not realize the same profits as book and journal publishers due to the different pricing, production and distribution practices of the three types of publications.

Native Peoples has been blessed to have a publisher/editor who has demonstrated a facility for taking advantage of certain watershed developments in Indian Country, such as the founding of a national museum dedicated to American Indians and a visit by the pope to a local American Indian conference. Perhaps with additional marketing resources allocated to tap into other, broader populations, Avey can appeal to this increasing interest in American Indian culture to increase the circulation of *Native Peoples*.

Avey says that *Native Peoples* started out as this "grass-roots magazine and we are still part of the same world."[71] Elsewhere at the grass-roots level on several American Indian reservations, economic developments such as the growth of tribally operated casinos are occurring.[72] Partnerships with these casinos may offer opportunities to generate financial support for *Native Peoples* magazine.

It should prove interesting to watch how the history of *Native Peoples* magazine continues to unfold, and whether or not this magazine can maintain its place in mass communication history as the premier national magazine for America's first peoples. Avey says, "We may not ever be the most popular magazine, but this is just prologue. You ain't seen nothing yet."[73]

No matter what happens to this magazine in the future, by counting coup of its first thirteen years of circulation, *Native Peoples* has assumed a well-deserved place in the history of American magazine publishing as the highest-circulated national magazine about contemporary American Indians.

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3. See Leonard Mogel, *The Magazine* (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: GATF Press, 1998), 10, and Sammye Johnson and Patricia Prijatel, *Magazine Publishing* (Lincolnwood, Illinois: NTC/Contemporary Publishing Group, 2000), 19-20. Johnson and Prijatel state that a significant inconsistency exists in the measurement of total magazines published by major reference books. For 1999, the measurements range from *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory* listing of 157,173 worldwide journals, trade and consumer publications to *Standard Rate & Data Service's* listing of twenty-seven hundred consumer and farm magazines, and more than seventy-five hundred business publications. Other listings include the *Gale Directory of Publications*, twelve thousand periodicals; *Oxbridge Communications MediaFinder Web Site*, one-hundred thousand publications and catalogs; and *National Directory of Magazines*, twenty thousand titles.

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AEJMC MAGAZINE DIVISION
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"A Longitudinal Quantitative Study of
Gender and Related Determinants in U.S. Consumer Magazines"

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ABSTRACT

In an effort to examine a number of fundamental questions about the U.S. consumer magazine publishing industry in a historical context, the research of a baseline 1990 quantitative study was duplicated exactly ten years later employing the same research methodology. It is evident that a number of the defining economic business parameters, such as levels of circulation, cover price, and advertising rates (in cost-per-thousand and page rates), have undergone significant change in the last decade. The periodical industry's responses to these changes reflect not only a variety of economic pressures--specifically, those related to cost management and the optimization of revenue within the framework decade's market conditions--but also, perhaps speculatively, the ways in which magazines may continue to reflect the on-going sociocultural reality of American society.

I. INTRODUCTION

Magazines are both economically driven business enterprises and culturally fueled vehicles of social mediation. Periodicals serve as cultural markers, reflective of the social reality in which they are produced, but are also economic entities, inherently subjected to their industry's traditional business parameters. Hence, it is possible to examine changes within the magazine market as a whole for aspects which may illuminate a number of the prevailing sociocultural dimensions of contemporary America.

Viewed quantitatively over a substantial period of time, it is clear that a number of defining magazine business parameters (e.g. levels of circulation, cover price, advertising page rates, cpms, etc.) have played an important determinant in shaping the U.S. consumer magazine industry. By studying the

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periodical industry's aggregate reaction -- cost management and the optimization of revenue within market conditions -- to these economic pressures, one may not only try to understand how the industry responded to market changes, but also find clues to the ways in which magazines mirror the sociocultural reality of their times.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Any consideration of the scholarship associated with the magazine form must, perforce, start with a respectful nod toward the two magisterial historical surveys. Rich in chronicle and narrative, both Mott and Peterson did much to establish legitimacy of the periodical as a legitimate topic for scholarly study.<2> More recent authors such as Tebbel and Zuckerman, Abrahamson (1996, 1995), Nord, Nourie and Nourie, and Van Zuilen have put many of the magazine industry's economic dimensions in an historical context, while Compaine (1982, 1974), Rankin, and Whitman summarized the defining parameters of the business operations essential to magazine publishing.<3>

The scholarly literature on the more specific considerations related to the economic aspects of the magazine industry is not as rich as one might imagine, but a number of authors have illuminated a variety of essential details. Krishnan and Soley, Fletcher and Winn, and Malin have focused on the considerations concerning circulation and advertising readership and cycles, while Sumner, Norris, and Soley and Krishnan have investigated the role of revenue sources in the viability of magazines.<4> The subject of gender as a factor in magazine readership and marketing has also been examined. Canape and Chung have studied aspects of male readership, while Damon-Moore and Waller have, from a historical perspective, explored the circumstances related to female readership.<5>

A review of the literature, however, reveals surprisingly little quantitative analysis of consumer magazine industry as a whole; hence this effort to build on the previous baseline study (Abrahamson, 1991) one decade later.<6>

III. METHODOLOGY

This article is based in large measure upon the results of quantitative research. An effort, however, has been made to focus the text on qualitative rather than quantitative issues. In most cases, statistics and results of statistical tests are relegated to footnotes, figures and tables. Readers who do not consult footnotes may assume that all relationships between variables have been tested for statistical significance, chiefly to determine if one can generalize from observations in the sample to the larger population (and with which this article is concerned, i.e. the consumer magazine industry as a whole).

Information on U.S. consumer magazines was obtained from two editions a decade apart of the Consumer Magazine and Agri-Media Rates and Data directory published by the Standard Rate and Data Service, a standard industry reference.<7> All data on individual magazines in the sample was then confirmed by telephone with every publisher. For the purpose of analysis, the data from the SRDS directories had a limitation that should be noted: Only those publications that accept advertising are included in the directories.

A nth-name sort (n=7) of the 2000 SRDS directory's index of U.S. consumer magazines (2,422 valid entries) was performed, yielding a random sample of 346 entries. After telephone confirmation, publications that either had gone out of business or were published with a frequency less than quarterly (e.g. semiannually or annually) were removed from the sample, resulting in a dataset containing a total of 300 titles. In contrast, the 1990 study performed a sort of 2,645 entries yielding a total sample of 377 cases, which, upon validation, produced a final dataset of 288 cases.

Where possible, measures of the significance and strength of all relationships were calculated. Hence, words such as "significant" or "strong" are used in the text to describe characteristics of all consumer magazines only when their use is supported by the results of statistical tests reported in footnotes. Relationships between nominal variables was tested using the non-parametric tests such as Chi Square (X2) and, if samples were small, Fisher's Exact test (FE), but no significance was found.

For interval variables, the number of cases and measures of central tendency (mean or median) and of dispersion (standard deviation, referred to as "s.d.") are provided in the text, figures, or footnotes. The statistical significance of differences between means was tested using the T-test and/or an analysis of variance (ANOVA), and the strength of relationships was measured by Eta Squared (E2). When assumptions required by parametric tests could not be made, the appropriate non-parametric test was used to evaluate differences in central tendency and dispersion, e.g. Mann-Whitney (M-W) and Kolgormorov-Smirnov (K-S) as alternatives to the t-test, and Kruskal-Wallis (K-W) instead of ANOVA. In all cases, probabilities are reported in footnotes as described above.

IV. ANALYTICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. The Role of Gender

It has long been an accepted fact that, unlike newspapers, a large number of the consumer magazines published in the United States are conceived and edited to appeal to gender-specific audiences. Though some publications, typically news magazines, some general-interest publications, and a number of association and regional periodicals, have "joint" readerships, a majority of magazines are clearly aimed at either male or female audiences.<8>

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Two factors may explain the prevalence of this delineation by gender. The first, a sociocultural one, suggests that the editorial subjects covered by most conventional magazines are often of predominant interest to only one gender. As evidence -- but at the risk of stereotyping -- one might offer the example of males and hunting, or women and needlecrafts. The second factor hinges on the fact that many products and services sold in the United States are segmented by gender. Moreover, this is particularly true for those products that have traditionally used magazines as national advertising vehicles.<9> Indeed, many of the national consumer magazines that are able to charge their advertisers the highest advertising rates (thereby implying that they offer advertisers the most desirable potential readers/customers) are gender-specific publications, e.g. the high fashion women's magazines or men's magazines focused on expensive hobbies such as private aviation.

Over the last 15 years or so, the role of gender in both the editorial positioning and advertising prospects of magazines has begun to be the object of some scholarly attention. Much ground-breaking historical research on the issue of gender in magazine readership has been the work of journalism historians, but their principal focus has been on 19th-century developments.<10> There was, however, a empirical benchmark study completed just over a decade ago that explored the causal relationships between the gender of audience and a number of quantitative measures applicable to magazine publishing, e.g. circulation size, frequency of publication, cover price, and price charged for advertising.<11>

B. Sociocultural Factors

Of particular interest was the possibility of exploring to what degree a number of defining generalizations about the magazine publishing industry have continued to hold true over the last decade. These primarily include the specific business decisions (e.g. levels of circulation, cover price, advertising rates, etc.) with which the magazine industry has responded to a variety of economic pressures and the ways in which those pressures may cause magazines to continue to reflect the on-going sociocultural fractionization of American society.

For example, furthering a process that spawned with the rise of the special-interest magazine in the 1960s, magazines in the 1990s continued to remain highly "niched" and specialized around myriad specific leisure activities. With more available leisure time, the magazine-reading American public's interests proceeded to splinter and fractionate, leading the magazine industry to create a magazine, or at least a persona, to satiate all individual tastes. Magazines continued to reflect subtle differences among themselves while speaking to different readers with different leisure-time pursuits. The rise in not only the number of U.S. magazine readers, but also the number of magazines launched during the decade, is a testament to the eclectic and highly refined tastes among the leisure pursuits of a -- by and large -- economically successful populace.

V. CURRENT (2000) AND BASELINE (1990) DATA

What follows is the data that was obtained in the longitudinal study, with the 2000 results presented first, followed by the 1990 baseline results. For ease of comprehension and comparison, all of the data will be presented in a unified form, typically in a Figure Na/Figure Nb format where a = 2000 and b = 1990. The discussion of causes, effects and significance will be reserved for a subsequent section.

A. Circulation

Approximately 14,000 different periodicals of all types are published in the United States. More than 2,000 of these can be considered consumer magazines,<12> and these represent an estimated total circulation of more than 585 million readers.<13> In terms of individual circulations, consumer magazines range in size from Parade (at 37 million the largest circulation periodical but, as a Sunday newspaper supplement, sometimes not included in a consideration of conventional magazines) and Modern Maturity, the American Association of Retired Person's monthly, (20 million), to small specialized publications with only a few hundred readers.

Interestingly, the average (mean) circulation of all American consumer magazines has fallen from 442,851 in 1990 to 278,105 in 2000. Equally fascinating, however, is that due to continuing success of a large number of magazines with quite small readerships, the median circulation of U.S. consumer magazines, at 86,000 readers, did not change at all. (See Figures 1a and 1b.)

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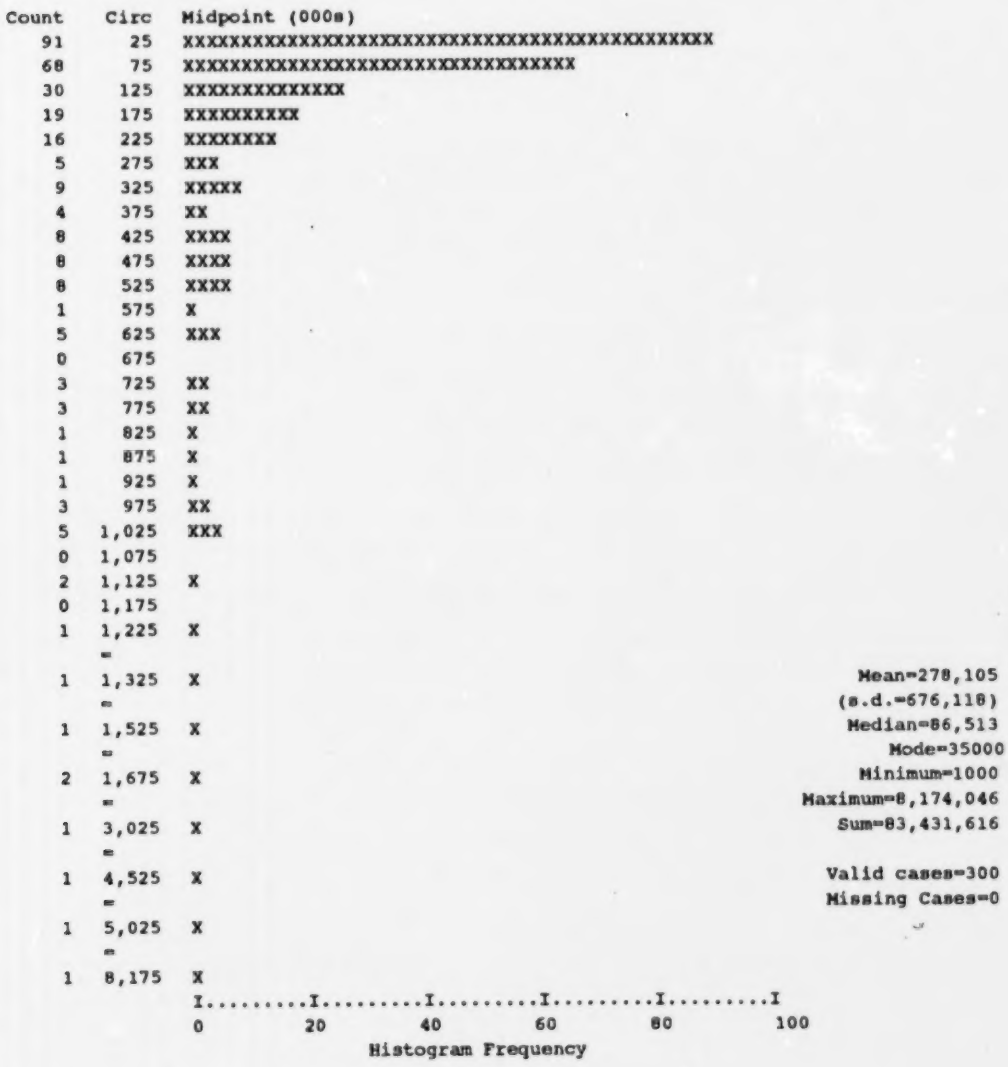
FIGURE 1a. Circulation (all magazines) 2000

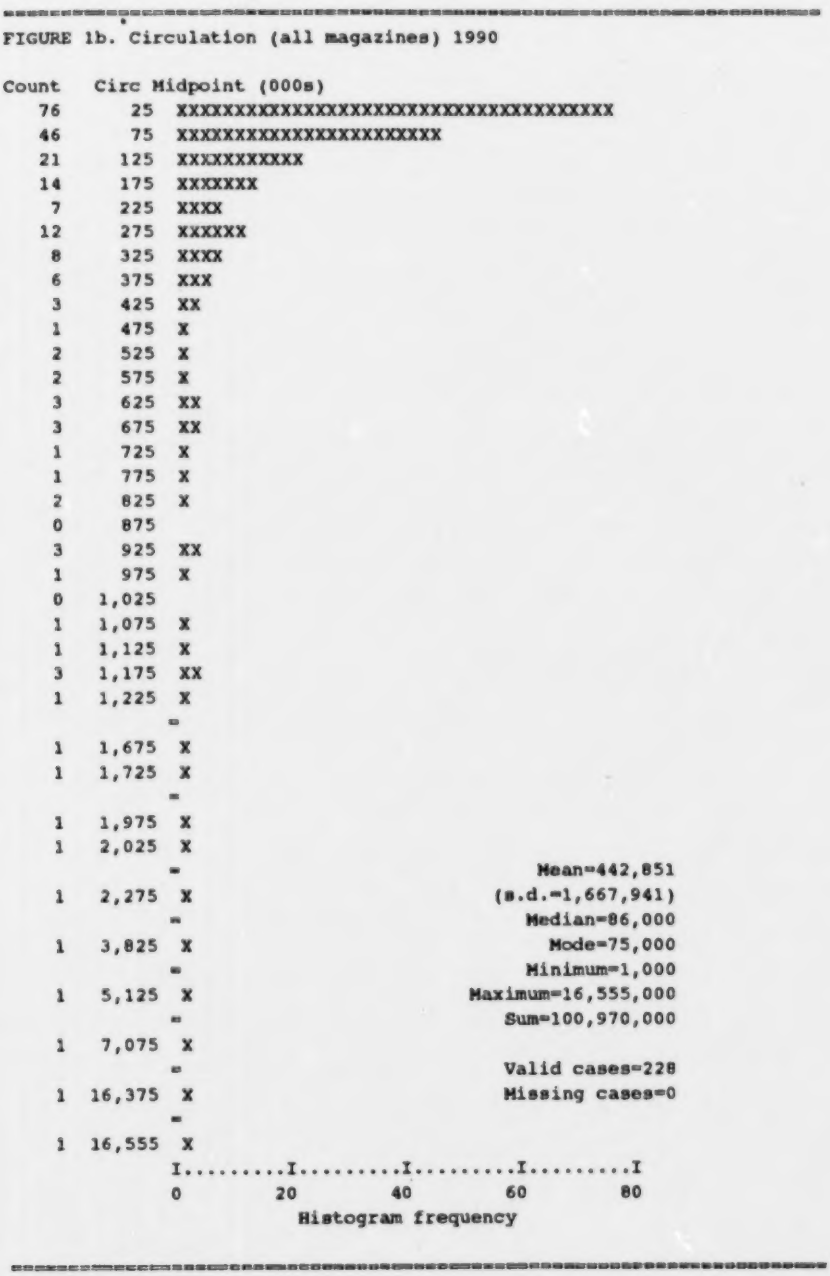


Mean=278,105
(s.d.=676,118)
Median=86,513
Mode=35000
Minimum=1000
Maximum=8,174,046
Sum=83,431,616

Valid cases=300
Missing Cases=0

209

FIGURE 1b. Circulation (all magazines) 1990



B. Frequency and Cover Price

Today, 35 percent of all consumer magazines are published monthly and nearly 25 percent are published bimonthly, with a median cover price of $3.50. This represents a number of changes over the study decade. For example, almost 40

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percent of all consumer magazines in 1990 were published monthly, and the median cover price, at $2.50, was $1 less than today. Moreover, there has been a significant increase in the percentage of bimonthly publications, from 18.9 to 24.7 percent.

Also of note is the fact that, while free distribution (or "controlled" circulation) has long been the norm in the specialized business or "trade" magazine publishing, it is evident that it has become more widely adopted in the consumer publications as well: Over the study decade the percentage of magazines using controlled circulation more than doubled, rising from 8.3 to 17.9 percent. (See Figures 2a, 2b, 3a and 3b.)

FIGURE 2a. Frequency of Publication (all magazines) 2000

Frequency (n/year)	Cases	Percent	Freq (n/year)	Cases	Percent
4x	33	11.0	13x	3	1.0
5x	1	0.3	17x	2	0.7
6x	74	24.7	24x	6	2.0
7x	7	2.3	26x	4	1.3
8x	8	2.7	36x	1	0.3
9x	7	2.3	52x	25	8.3
10x	19	6.3	54x	1	0.3
11x	3	1.0	68x	1	0.3
12x	105	35.0		----	----
			Total	300	100

```
 4x     XXXXXXXXXXXX
 5x     X
 6x     XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
 7x     XXX
 8x     XXX
 9x     XXX
10x     XXXXXXX
11x     XX
12x     XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
13x     XX
17x     X
24x     XXX
26x     XX
36x     X
52x     XXXXXXXXX
54x     X
68x     X
        I*********I*********I*********I*********I
        0%        10        20        30        40
```

Mean=13.4 (s.d.=13.17) Median=11.0 Mode=12.0
Minimum=4 Maximum=68 Valid cases=300 Missing=0

FIGURE 2b. Frequency of Publication (all magazines) 1990

Frequency (n/year)	Cases	Percent	Frequency (n/year)	Cases	Percent
4x	23	10.1	14x	1	.4
5x	6	2.6	16x	1	.4
6x	43	18.9	17x	1	.4
7x	3	1.3	18x	1	.4
8x	8	3.5	22x	2	.9
9x	5	2.2	26x	6	2.6
10x	11	4.8	30x	1	.4
11x	8	3.5	43x	1	.4
12x	91	39.9	51x	1	.4
13x	2	.9	52x	13	5.7
			Total	228	100.0

Mean=12.7 (s.d.=11.2) Median=12.0 Mode=12.0
Minimum=4 Maximum=52 Valid cases=228 Missing cases=0

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FIGURE 3a. Cover Price (all magazines) 2000

```
          Cover Price ($)
Count     Midpoint
53         .25    XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX  *
 3         .75    XX
 6        1.25    XXX
 8        1.75    XXXX
17        2.25    XXXXXXXXX
39        2.75    XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
10        3.25    XXXXX
87        3.75    XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
 8        4.25    XXXX
43        4.75    XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
 5        5.25    XXX
 8        5.75    XXXX
 2        6.25    X
 4        6.75    XX
 0        7.25
 1        7.75    X
 0        8.25
 1        8.75    X
                  I*********I*********I*********I*********I*********I
                  0%          20         40         60         80    100
                         Histogram Frequency
```

Mean=$3.07 (s.d.=$1.85) Median=$3.50 Mode=$0.00 Range=$8.95
Minimum=$0.00 Maximum=$8.95 Valid Cases=295 Missing Cases=5
* Includes 53 cases where Cover Price=$0.00 (distrib. free).

FIGURE 3b. Cover Price (all magazines) 1990

```
          Cover Price ($)
Count     Midpoint
  22       .25  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX *
  10       .75  XXXXXXX
  18      1.25  XXXXXXXXXXXX
  21      1.75  XXXXXXXXXXXXXX
  29      2.25  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
  73      2.75  XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
  17      3.25  XXXXXXXXXXX
  21      3.75  XXXXXXXXXXXXXX
   5      4.25  XXX
   4      4.75  XXX
   3      5.25  XX
   0      5.75
   0      6.25
   1      6.75  X
   0      7.25
   1      7.75  X
   0      8.25
                =
   1     13.75  X
                =
   1     31.75  X
                I.........I.........I.........I.........I.........I
                0         15         30         45         60         75
```

Histogram frequency

Mean=2.52 (s.d.=2.43) Median=2.50 Mode=2.95 Range=32.00
Minimum=0.00 Maximum=32.00 Valid cases=227 Missing cases=1
* Includes 19 cases where Cover Price=$0.00 (distrib. free).

C. Advertising Rates

The price charged for advertising is a function of both the size of the individual medium's audience and the attractiveness of that audience to advertisers. The median "page rate" for a black-and-white advertisement in consumer magazines in 2000 was $3,740, up from just under $2,600 in 1990.

However, the price of advertising is perhaps more usefully expressed in terms of "cost per thousand" (cpm) readers or viewers. For magazines, the cost is that of a full-page black-and-white advertisement per 1000 readers; for television, cost of a 30-second commercial per 1000 viewers. For comparison, network television's cpm is typically between $6 and $12, a figure that, not coincidentally, is also the cpm of TV Guide. Large general-interest magazines such as Reader's Digest and Ladies Home Journal have cpm's in the $20 range, and the newsweeklies such as Time and Newsweek cluster around $30. The more specialized the audience is, the more a magazine can charge. As a result, magazines serving special reader interests often have cpm's two or three times that of the newsmagazines. For example, Popular Photography has a cpm of about $65.

Over the course of the 1990s, the industry median cpm rose from $32 in 1990 to $42 in 2000, an increase of more than 30 percent. In addition, other changes in the cpm and page-rate histograms of 1990 and 2000 are notable: In 2000, a stronger peak emerges in the page-rate data between prices of $27,000 and $57,000, supporting a claim to an increased specialization of magazines. (See Figures 4a, 4b and 5.)

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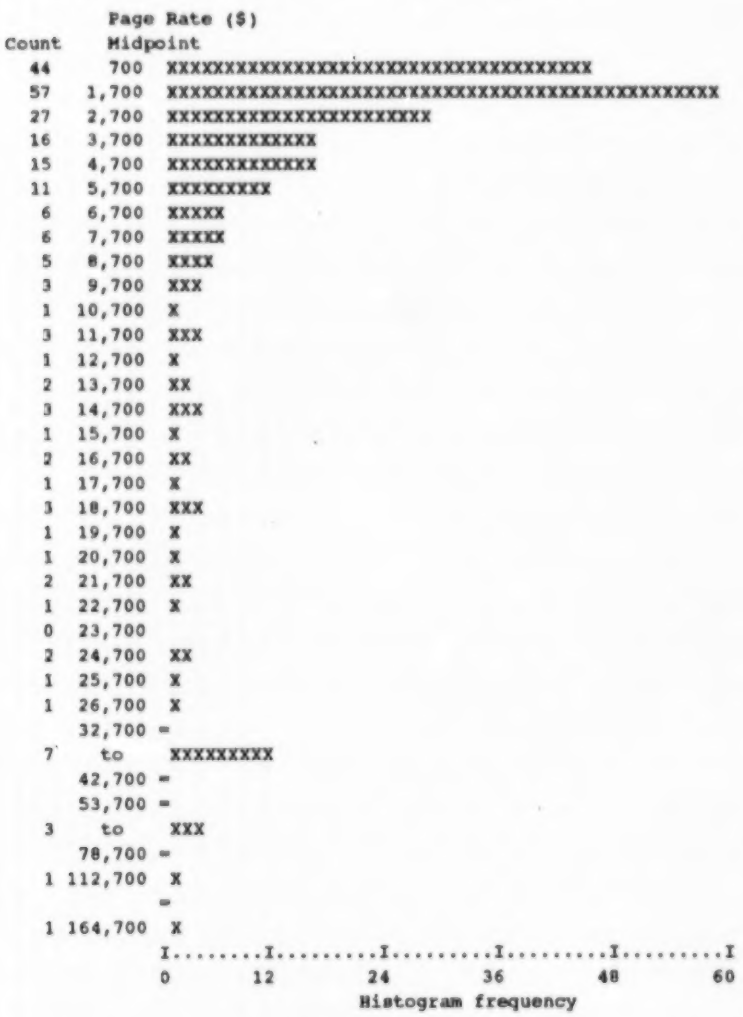
FIGURE 4a. Full-Page B&W Ad Rate (all magazines) 2000

Count	Page Rate ($) Midpoint	
48	700	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
42	1,700	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
45	2,700	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
33	3,700	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
25	4,700	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
16	5,700	XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
5	6,700	XXXXX
9	7,700	XXXXXXXXX
6	8,700	XXXXXX
4	9,700	XXXX
5	10,700	XXXXX
3	11,700	XXX
3	12,700	XXX
5	13,700	XXXXX
2	14,700	XX
4	15,700	XXXX
0	16,700	
4	17,700	XXXX
1	18,700	X
3	19,700	XXX
1	20,700	X
1	21,700	X
15	27,700	XXXXXXXXXXXXXX
9	37,700	XXXXXXXXX
8	47,700	XXXXXXXX
2	57,700	XX
0	67,700	
2	77,700	XX
3	82,200 to 162,200	XXX

```
          I*********I*********I*********I*********I*********I
          0         10        20        30        40        50
                          Histogram Frequency
```

Mean=10,018.35 (s.d.=17,775.07) Median=3740.00 Minimum=188
Maximum=161,350 Valid Cases=299 Missing Cases=1

FIGURE 4b. Full-Page B&W Ad Rate (all magazines) 1990



Mean=7,764.99 (s.d.=16,584.43) Median=2,591.50 Min.=212.00
Maximum=164,780.00 Valid cases=228 Missing cases=0

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FIGURE 5a. Advertising CPM (all magazines) 2000

```
        CPM ($)
Count   Midpoint
 9        6     XXXXXXXXX
30       16     XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
43       26     XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
58       36     XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
46       46     XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
30       56     XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
27       66     XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
15       76     XXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
12       86     XXXXXXXXXXXX
 6       96     XXXXXX
 8      106     XXXXXXXX
 3      116     XXX
 1      126     X
 2      136     XX
 1      146     X
 3      156     XXX
 0      166
 0      176
 1      186     X
 0      196
        206
 5      to      XXXXX
        356
                I*********I*********I*********I*********I*********I********
                0         10        20        30        40        50
                          Histogram Frequency

Mean=52.85 (s.d.=44.38)  Median=42.00  Mode=31.00  Minimum=6.00
Maximum=353.00  Valid Cases=299  Missing Cases=1
```

FIGURE 5b. Advertising CPM (all magazines) 1990

```
         CPM ($)
Count    Midpoint
   19      6   XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
   41     16   XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
   44     26   XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
   46     36   XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
   26     46   XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
   19     56   XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
    8     66   XXXXXXXX
    8     76   XXXXXXXX
    1     86   X
    2     96   XX
    4    106   XXXX
    2    116   XX
    0    126
    2    136   XX
    1    146   X
    1    156   X
    1    166   X
    0    176
    1    186   X
```

```
1   196  X
0   206
        =
1   496  X
        I.........I.........I.........I.........I.........I
        0         10        20        30        40        50
                  Histogram frequency

Mean=40.99 (s.d.=43.46)  Median=32.00  Mode=35.00  Min.=1.00
Maximum=500.00  Valid cases=228  Missing cases=0
```

VI. COMPARATIVE RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Circulation

Gender was initially presumed to be a strong factor to explain the change in circulation over the past ten years. Indeed, almost 80 percent of all consumer magazines are now gender-specific.<see endnote 2> During the decade, the percentage of female magazines remained roughly constant, but male magazines rose from 41.7 to 50.0 percent of readers, and joint magazines lost more than 10 percentage points. Viewed as a whole, 50 percent of all magazine are aimed at male readers, just under 30 percent are women's magazines, and the balance have joint readerships. Furthermore, the median circulation of magazines for men is 84,500 (up from 78,000 in 1990), while the median readership of women's publications fell from 105,500 in 1990 to 95,000 in 2000. (See Figures 6a and 6b.)

At first glance, it might seem that the larger median circulation of female magazines is merely a function of the number of titles. If the total number of male and female readers of gender-specific magazines were equal, the availability of fewer female titles could, by simple arithmetic, explain the more female readers per female publication. Historically, however, the total number of male and female readers of gender-specific magazines is not equal. Indeed, the aggregate total circulation of all female magazines in 1990 was almost 50 percent larger than that of male publications: 203 million to 137 million.<14> The 2000 data, however, shows a market convergence, with male readership rising to 180 million and female to only 210 million. So while it remains true that more females read magazines, the gap is closing significantly.

Two pivotal changes emerge from this data. The first is that the percentage of titles devoted to men has notably increased, the percentage of women's magazines has remained roughly the same and the number of magazines targeted at joint audiences has declined significantly. To explain the growth in the percentage of men's titles, one can perhaps begin with the notion of what might be called pent-up demand. It can be argued, albeit speculatively, that the retreat of feminism as a sociocultural force during the 1990s made possible an expansion of magazines serving men's interests which previously

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might have been regarded as less socially acceptable. Examples of the areas reflecting this increase might include a successful new category of magazines bawdily and unapologetically addressing post-pubescent male fantasies (e.g. Maxim, Stuff, FHM, etc.). In addition, it should be noted that one of the largest categories of men's magazines relates to sports and leisure activities, and that the number and diversity of such activities -- and therefore the magazines that serve them -- has grown significantly in the past decade.

Equally interesting are the changes in median circulation over the last decade. (See Figures 7a and 7b.) The precipitous decline of almost 15 percent in the median readership of magazines aimed at women and the significant increase in median male circulation suggest an interesting phenomenon. One way to understand this is to posit what might be called a mode reversal in the nature of the periodicals' editorial conceptualization of gender. Traditionally, female magazines had significantly larger circulations than male magazines, in part due to the fact that women's interests seemed to extend across fewer but more generalized categories of subjects in a notably inclusive way. Men's increase, in contrast, tended to fractionate in concert with narrowly drawn (mostly leisure-active) interests. In the last 10 years, however, the defining of women's interests in narrow terms seems to have resonated with the female reading public. For example, rather than larger magazines dealing with a spectrum of topics related to appearance and attractiveness, now there are individual magazines addressing, for instance, the subject of beauty as an individual niche, or, even more specifically, the physical health aspects of beauty.

The changes recorded in men's magazines are somewhat harder to explain. While it is apparent that they are becoming, at least in one sense, more like women's magazines, the causes are difficult to isolate. Nevertheless, it is notable that the median circulations of all three types of magazines (female, male and joint) are merging toward a uniform number of readers.

FIGURE 6a. Gender of Readership (all magazines) 2000

Gender	Cases	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	141	47.0	50.0	50.0
Female	82	27.3	29.1	79.1
Joint	59	19.7	20.9	100.0
Total	282	94.0	100.0	

Valid cases=282 Missing cases=18

FIGURE 6b. Gender of Readership (all magazines) 1990

Gender	Cases	Percent	Valid Percent	Cum Percent
Male	95	41.7	41.7	41.7
Female	62	27.2	27.2	68.9
Joint	71	31.1	31.1	100.0
Total	228	100.0	100.0	

Valid cases=228 Missing cases=0

FIGURE 7a. Statistics, Circulation by Gender 2000

	Male	Female	Joint
Mean	182,538.53	366,640.71	400,369.24
S.d.	240,592.61	819,445.04	1,099,850.71
Median	84,578.00	90,521.00	85,675.00
Minimum	2710	9000	5000
Maximum	1,300,000	5,000,000	8,174,046
Sum	25,737,933	30,064,538	23,621,785
Valid cases	141	82	59
Missing cases	0	0	0

FIGURE 7b. Statistics, Circulation by Gender 1990

	Male	Female	Joint
Mean	206,937	469,113	735,577
S.d.	361,228	869,469	2,832,785
Median	78,000	105,500	100,000
Minimum	4,000	10,000	1,000
Maximum	2,016,000	5,147,000	16,555,000
Sum	19,659,000	29,085,000	52,226,000
Valid cases	95	62	71
Missing cases	0	0	0

B. Other Quantitative Measures (Frequency, Cover Price, CPM)

Subsequent tests reveal changes since 1990 in a number of the other economic variables under consideration. These include publication frequency (which decreased from 12.0 to 11.0 issues per year); cover price (the median cover price jumped from $2.50 to $3.50); and cpm (the median rocketed from $32 to $42). (See Figure 8.)

For one other variable, the price charged for a full-page black-and-white advertisement (the "page rate"), median page rates increased from $2,591 to $3,470 during the 1990s. In all likelihood this is not directly related to

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gender per se. Rather, the primary determinant of page rates is circulation size, the median of which has slightly increased in the past ten years.

Each of these parameters, in turn, and their challenges over the decade reflect interesting forces at work within the magazine industry. The lowering of the median frequency from 12 to 11 issues per year can be explained by the growing insistence of advertisers to make any efficiencies possible be realized in their advertising spending. The manifestation of this insistence was a growing unwillingness to advertise at times of the year when readers were either away from home (e.g. August), or less likely to buy (e.g. January, after the holiday season). In response to this withholding of advertising dollars, the 1990s saw a growing trend in magazine publishing to move to a 10-times-per-year frequency, which allowed publishers to combine their July/August issues and their December/January ones as well. By saving on printing and distribution costs with fewer issues -- in effect, not printing those issues, which would have been poorly supported by advertising -- publishers were able to optimize profit and accommodate the desires of their advertisers. This move toward frequencies of less than the conventional monthly publication largely explains the decline in the median frequency during the 1990s.

While the increase from $2.50 to $3.50 in cover price over the decade is substantial in percentage terms, it reflects the inherent price sensitivity magazines encounter on the newsstand. The increase in cover price can be ascribed to three factors: inflation, the increase in manufacturing and distribution costs and competition on the newsstand. Moreover, it is clear that the American magazine-reading public is significantly price-resistant when dealing with the purchase of periodicals.

The best way to examine the increase in advertising rates, which, during the 1990s, increased from $2,591 to $3,740, is to consider the growth of the median cpm, which is derived from dividing a magazine's page rate by its circulation. In rising from $32 to $42, the cpm reflects not only inflation and a boom economy in the 1990s, but also an increase in "niching" of the magazine industry. The latter reason rests on the fact that the more targeted the audience (and its greater propensity to consume), the greater is a magazine's ability to charge advertisers a higher page rate and therefore a higher cpm.

FIGURE 8. Medians, all magazines

	2000	1990
Frequency	11.0	12.0
Cover Price	$3.50	$2.50
Page Rate	$3,740.50	$2,591.00
CPM	$42.00	$32.00

C. Subject Matter

A last area of investigation is the possible relationship between economic factors affecting magazines and magazine categories based on subject matter. Using a developed categorization scheme,<15> it is noteworthy that the two largest categories in both 2000 and 1990, Sports/Hobbies (38.7 percent and 32.0 percent, respectively) and Travel/Regional (15.0 percent and 19.3 percent, respectively) account for over half of the entire population of consumer magazines. The 2000 data show that a smaller but nonetheless significant category, Business/Finance, has decreased its share of the total by almost 50 percent. On the other hand, the Sports/Hobbies category saw a marked 20 percent increase during the decade. (See Figures 9a and 9b.)

While somewhat speculative in nature, a number of sociocultural inferences might be drawn from the results of the analysis of relating economic factors and other sociological factors to subject matter. For example, it is clear that rising levels of education and affluence were accompanied by a concomitant increase in leisure during the 1990s. If one holds that magazines are a unique marker of the social reality of their time, it should come as no surprise that sports-related and travel/regional publications prospered during this period. More problematical, however, is that a conventional view of the "go-go" 1990s would be at a loss to explain the decreasing share of Business/Finance magazines. It is possible that a further time-phased analysis would show a marked expansion of this category through 1998, but then a severe decrease thereafter with the economic contraction that originated with the bursting of the dot-com bubble and the folding of many publications celebrating The New Economy.

FIGURE 9a. Subject-matter category (all magazines) 2000

Category	Cases	Percent
Association	12	4.0
General/News	24	8.0
Family/Home/Shelter	32	10.7
Lifestyle/Fashion	25	8.3
Business/Finance	7	2.3
Sports/Hobbies	116	38.7
Science/Health	17	5.7
Travel/Regional	45	15.0
Youth/Other	22	7.3
Total	300	100.0

FIGURE 9b. Subject-matter category (all magazines) 1990

Category	Cases	Percent
Association	20	8.8
General/News	20	8.8
Family/Home/Shelter	19	8.3
Lifestyle/Fashion	18	7.9
Business/Finance	10	4.4
Sports/Hobbies	73	32.0
Science/Health	12	5.3
Travel/Regional	44	19.3
Youth/Other	12	5.3
Total	228	100.0

VII. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is clear that the pressures of economic business parameters continue to be an important determinant in shaping the U.S. consumer magazine industry. By comparing the results of two quantitative studies that employ the same research methodology, this study addresses some of those economic factors affecting the publishing industry, as well as a number of related questions in a historical context. It can be concluded that a number of the defining business parameters (e.g. levels of circulation, cover price, advertising rates, cpms, etc.) have undergone significant change in the last decade. Indeed, the median cover price and ad rate and have increased. These changes indicate the periodical market's reaction to the varied economic pressures of cost management and the optimization of revenue within the market conditions of the 1990s. Moreover, these forces may also serve to illuminate a number of the prevailing sociocultural dimensions of contemporary America, from the declining median number of issues per year to the rise in niched, gender-related magazine categories. Most importantly,

these industry trends, spurred by diverse market changes, reflect -- perhaps speculatively – the ways in which magazines may serve to mirror the cultural reality of the times in which they are produced.

ENDNOTES

1. Support for this effort from the Research Experience Program of the Northwestern University's Office of the Provost is gratefully acknowledged. The authors would also like to thank Ms. Terry Evans and Ms. Erin Killian for their research assistance, particularly regarding the confirmation of current demographic and circulation data, and Ms. Lauren Wiener for her editorial contributions.

2. See Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines, 5 Volumes (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938) and Theodore Peterson, Magazines in the Twentieth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956).

3. See John W. Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, The Magazine in America, 1741-1990 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); David Abrahamson, Magazine-Made America: The Cultural Transformation of the Postwar Periodical (New York: Hampton Press, 1996); David Abrahamson, ed., The American Magazine: Research Perspectives and Prospects (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press, 1995); A.J. Van Zuilen, The Life Cycle of Magazines: A Historical Study of the Decline and Fall of the General Interest Mass Audience Magazine in the United States during the Period 1946-1972 (Uithorn, The Netherlands, 1977); Alan Nourie and Barbara Nourie, American Mass Market Magazines (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990); and David Paul Nord, "An Economic Perspective on Formula in Popular Culture," Journal of American Culture 3 (Spring 1980): 17-31. See also Benjamin M. Compaine, The Business of Consumer Magazines (White Plains, NY: Knowledge Industry Publications, 1982); Benjamin M. Compaine, Consumer Magazines at the Crossroads: A Study of General and Special Interest Magazines (White Plains, NY: Knowledge Industry Publications, 1974); William Parkman Rankin, The Evolution of the Business Management of Selected General Consumer Magazines (New York: Praeger, 1984); Neil Whitman, "Applied Economics: Magazine Publishers," Instructor 81.7 (March 1972): 44.

4. See R. Krishnan and Lawrence Soley, "Controlling Magazine Circulation," Journal of Advertising Research 27.4 (1987): 17-23; Alan D. Fletcher and Paul D. Winn, "An Inter-Magazine Analysis of Factors in Advertising Readership," Journalism Quarterly 51.3 (Autumn 1974): 425-430; and Steven R. Malin, "An Empirical Investigation of Magazine Advertising Cycles" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1980). See also David E. Sumner, "Who Pays for Magazines–Advertisers or Consumers?" Journal of Advertising Research 41.6 (Nov-Dec 2001): 61-66; Vincent P. Norris, "Consumer Magazine Prices and the Mythical Advertising Subsidy," Journalism Quarterly 59.2 (Summer 1982): 205-

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211, 239; and Lawrence Soley and R. Krishnan. "Does Advertising Subsidize Consumer Magazine Prices?" Journal of Advertising 16.2 (1987): 4-9.

5. See Charlene Canape, "Refashioning the Male Marketplace," Marketing & Media Decisions, March 1985, 84-86; and Man-Soo Chung, "Consumer Information-Seeking Behavior and Magazine Advertisements" (Ph.D. diss., University of Missouri-Columbia, 1988). See also Helen Mary Damon-Moore, "Gender and the Rise of Mass-Circulation Magazines" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1987), and Mary Ellen Waller, "Popular Women's Magazines, 1890-1917" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1987).

6. David Abrahamson, "The Role of Reader Gender as an Economic Determinant in U.S. Consumer Magazines." Communication Institute for Online Scholarship Research Database: 1991, <http://www.cios.org/getfile\ magstats_article>.

7. Standard Rate and Data Service, Consumer Magazine and Agri-Media Rates and Data 73.3 (27 March 1991) and Standard Rate and Data Service, Consumer Magazine and Agri-Media Rates and Data 82.3 (28 March 2000).

8. As a matter of convention, for the purposes of this study if gender-specificity<60%, a magazine can be characterized as having a "joint" readership. See also the section on Methodology.

9. See Endnote 4 above..

10. See Helen Mary Damon-Moore, "Gender and the Rise of Mass-Circulation Magazines" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1987), and Mary Ellen Waller, "Popular Women's Magazines, 1890-1917" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1987).

11. Se Endnote 6 above.

12. A precise definition of "consumer magazine" is, of course, somewhat elusive. For the purposes of this study, a periodical must meet the following tests to be considered: It must be listed in the SRDS Consumer Magazine directory (and therefore must carry advertising), and it must be published with a frequency of four times a year or more. See also Marian Confer, The Magazine Handbook (New York: Magazine Publishers of America, 1990), 5; and the section on Methodology.

13. The total readership of 585 million has been calculated by multiplying the circulation total in the study sample (see "Sum" note, Figure 1) by the "nth" value (n=7) in the sampling sort: 83.4 million x 7 = 585 million. It should be noted that this calculation is a somewhat indirectly derived extrapolation, and hence caution is recommended when comparing the 2000 figure of 585 million with the 1990 total of 706.79 million. See also the section on methodology.

14. Using the methodology outlined in Endnote 13 above, this 1990 calculation was based on the multiplication of sample sums (see Figure 7b) by "nth" value (n=7). Aggregate totals = 137,613,000 (male), 203,595,000 (female). Similar calculations for 2000 yielded the following results: female = 210,448,00 and male = 180,159,00.

15. The magazines in the samples were originally categorized by grouping the seventy-five categories used in the SRDS directory into nine clusters based on a broadly defined commonality of subject matter:

CLUSTER	SRDS CATEGORY
Associations	Civic
	College & Alumni
	Education & Teacher
	Fraternal Clubs & Associations
	Labor & Trade Union
	Mature
	Military & Naval
	Religious & Denominational
General/News	Affluence
	General Editorial (news)
	Literary, Book Reviews & Writing
	Media & Personalities
	News (weekly)
	News (daily, biweekly, other)
	Newsweeklies (alternative)
	Newsletters
	Newspaper Magazines
	Opinion, Thought & Commentary
	Political & Social
Family/Home/Shelter	Babies
	Bridal
	Dressmaking & Needlework
	Gardening
	Home Service & Home
	Parenthood
	TV & Radio
Lifestyle/Fashion	Art & Antiques
	Entertainment and Performing Arts
	Epicurean
	Fashion, Beauty & Grooming
	Lifestyle
	Men's
	Popular Culture
	Women's
Business/Finance	Business & Finance
	Computers

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	Group Buying Opportunities
	Home Office & Small Business
Sports/Hobbies.....	Adventure & Outdoor Recreation
	Automotive
	Aviation
	Boating & Yachting
	Campers & Recreational Vehicles
	Camping
	Crafts, Games, Hobbies & Models
	Dancing
	Dogs & Pets
	Fishing & Hunting
	Gaming
	History
	Horses, Riding & Breeding
	Motorcycle
	Music
	Mystery, Adventure & Sci-Fi
	Motorcycle
	Photography
	Special Interest Publications
	Sports
Science/Health.....	Fitness
	Health
	Mechanics & Science
	Nature & Ecology
	Science & Technology
Travel/Regional.....	Inflight & Enroute
	Entertainment Guides & Programs
	Hotel Inroom
	Metro, State & Regional
	Metro, Entertainment, Radio & TV
	Travel
Youth/Other.....	Almanacs & Directories
	Black & African-American
	Children's
	Comics
	Disabilities
	Ethnic
	Gay
	Teen
	Youth

In a few instances, the SRDS categorization of some individual magazines in the random sample was somewhat at odds with reality. When this was the case, the publication was assigned to a more appropriate cluster. To satisfy assumptions of certain statistical tests, these nine clusters were "collapsed" into seven categories. When this was required, a certain inherent

logic was applied, e.g. General/News and Association together, and Business/Finance combined with Science/Health. The resulting categories were:

General/News/Association
Family/Home/Shelter
Lifestyle/Fashion
Sports/Hobbies
Business/Finance/Science/Health
Travel/Regional
Youth/Other

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DATASET 2000

Dataset on U.S. Consumer Magazines, March 2000

Random sample (300 cases) derived from nth-name sort from Standard Rate and Data Directory).

```
------------------------------Code Book 2000--------------------------------
1-3 Case number
    5 Gender (1 male, 2 female, 3 joint i.e. <60% gender-specific)
      7-13 Circulation, 000's
              15 Audited (1 yes, 2 no)
                17-23 Subscriptions
                        25-31 Single
                                33 Abrahamson category (1 thru 9, see MAGSTATS ARTICLE)
                                  35-37 SRDS category (nn0=nn+null, nn1=A, nn2=nnB)
                                      39-40 Median reader age, years
                                         42-44 Book Size
                                            46-48 Cover price (e.g. 0200=$2.00)
                                               50-55 Page rate, 1xB&W (e.g. 005145=$5,145)
                                                     57-59 CPM, $ (page rate/circ in 000s)
                                                        61-62 Publishing frequency/year
                                                           64-68 Zip code
                                                                 70+ Magazine title

--------------------------------Dataset-------------------------------------
001 1 0117679 2 0016230 0101449 6 330 20 130 395 004900 026 12 44102 A.P.(Alternative Press)
002 1 0381998 1 0381998 0000000 2 001 41 120 600 015850 026 12 60611 ABA Journal
003 3 8174046 1 N/A     0000000 2 380 43 024 000 079200 067 52 02494 Access Magazine
004 1 0086027 1 0072278 0013749 9 211 41 088 395 005568 116 24 90028 Advocate
005 1 0083000 2 0083000 0000000 6 040 43 056 400 003650 051 10 20170 Air Line Pilot
006 1 0004800 2 0004800 0000000 6 030 40 036 400 000525 059 12 80104 Alfa Owner
007 2 0050000 2 0050000 0000000 7 230 40 080 395 002728 014 04 75229 Allergy & Asthma Health
008 1 0042681 1 0040209 0000000 1 420 55 032 225 001133 063 52 10019 America
009 3 0047400 2 0038064 0000000 6 190 41 075 325 001470 022 06 56301 American Bowhunter
010 2 0041000 2 0041000 0000000 7 191    072 450 001750 046 06 91403 American Fitness
011 1 0319741 1 0315295 0004460 2 220 49 N/A 495 015300 035 08 10011 American Heritage
012 1 0081466 2 0034955 0045477 6 311 42 148 399 002816 043 13 06905 American Iron Magazine
013 1 0213786 1 0213710 0000000 6 311 43 086 000 006575 102 12 43147 American Motorcyclist
014 1 0065365 2 0047145 0018220 6 311 48 100 395 003290 014 08 55369 American Rider
015 1 0090000 2 0042000 0048000 6 450 40 120 399 005120 059 06 55125 American Snowmobiler
016 2 0012500 2 N/A     N/A     9 100 19 130 495 000700 029 12 94107 Animerica Extra
017 1 0044737 2 0043154 0004800 6 441 63 068 450 001980 026 68 20016 Archaeology Odyssey
018 3 0010000 2 0002000 0008000 4 020 40 042 000 000799 065 04 80537 Art Revue
019 2 0142000 2 0060000 0025250 6 110 53 110 395 003730 031 06 54990 Arts & Crafts
020 1 0175227 1 0118000 0057000 7 430 48 130 450 004620 031 12 53187 Astronomy
021 2 0032720 2 0017760 0009121 8 301 48 000 N/A 003800 080 12 30342 Atlanta Homes Lifestyles
022 1 0230283 1 0010359 0016494 6 311 43 072 350 011670 072 06 55369 ATV Magazine
023 1 0328189 1 0327204 0000985 6 030 46 060 250 019423 025 52 48207 AutoWeek
024 1 0279045 1 0206339 0072706 6 000 42     395 017710 137 09 18098 Backpacker
025 2 0065000 2 0000000 0000000 3 382 37 072 000 002287 071 12 21228 Baltimore's Child
026 1 0067910 2 0022462 0044269 6 450    000 325 002900 033 26 27701 Baseball America
027 1 0043000 1 0026000 0015300 6 330 28 088 495 004385 029 12 94403 Bass Player
028 2 0173700 2 0000000 0000000 3 382 34 170 000 002410 021 12 95032 Bay Area Parent
029 1 0015242 2 0012794 0000425 6 450 31 036 200 000900 047 26 53590 Bear Report
030 1 0035000 2 0008679 0025580 6 450 39 092 499 000920 035 12 75248 Beckett Racing Mtrsprts
031 1 0005990 2 0005990 0000000 6 130 40 068 250 000188 049 12 05451 Better Beagling
032 2 0465000 2 N/A     N/A     3 240 41 118 450 033685 031 04 50309 Better Homes & Gard DIY
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033 1 0420000 1 0000000 0000000 7 230 49 088 000 010295 014 12 30339 Better Nutrition
034 2 0019000 1 0002000 N/A     3 382 35 096 000 002600 039 12 10003 Big Apple Parents' Paper
035 1 0169729 1 0149212 0020517 6 450 33 127 399 005540 042 10 92629 Bike
036 3 0076147 2 0058852 0012893 7 350 53 100 395 002245 040 06 53187 Birder's World
037 2 0221730 2 0078925 0110690 9 051 35 086     010450 033 07 10001 Black Diaspora
038 1 0053066 2 0016581 0036485 6 110 52 142 495 001835 018 12 54990 Blade
039 1 0500000 1 0050000 0000000 6 060 45 094 200 024350 089 06 10025 Boat/U.S. Magazine
040   0423000 2 N/A     N/A     8 170    N/A 000 005800 042 04 02193 Boston Ballet Guide
041 1 0236000 2 0236000 0000000 8 170    084 000 009900 017 54 02115 Boston Symphony Program
042 1 1300000 1 1300000 0000000 9 510 11 068 250 022970 320 12 75038 Boys' Life
043 2 0412017 1 0081962 0330055 3 070 25 842 495 036470 280 06 10036 Bride's Magazine
044 1 0329805 1 0305566 0024239 6 190 42 176 395 005734 061 06 24482 Buck Masters Whitetail 045 1
0041924 1 0040589 0000000 8 460 49 068 600 013400 052 10 10022 Business Traveler Int
046 3 0035000 2 N/A     0006000 7 350 49 052 350 002150 052 52 94118 California Wild
047 1 0072000 2 0045000 0027000 6 450 42 156 399 003760 103 06 98083 Canoe and Kayak
048 1 0084578 1 0054586 0029992 6 330 24 N/A 399 008690 041 12 92806 Car Audio and Electrn
049 3 0250000 2 0250000 0000000 9 051 31 067 300 010180 039 06 64111 Career Focus
050 2 0027500 2 0020000 0006500 3 210 49 056 395 002195 049 06 27408 Carolina Gardener
051 1 0040000 2 0005000 0000000 6 311 44 064 000 000730 080 11 10960 CC Motorcycle News
052 2 0050000 1 N/A     N/A     8 301 47 060 000 004500 047 06 60657 Chicago Life
053 3 1046291 1 1046291 0000000 2 380 41 035 150 019650 047 52 60611 Chicago Tribune TV Week
054 2 0044742 2 0044742 0000000 9 510 09 036 300 001440 024 08 46206 Child Life
055 2 0150000 2 0051317 0098502 9 100 42 068 495 005363 033 06 10001 Chocolatier
056 1 0027000 2 0003500 0004500 2 001 45 110 500 004200 018 06 80205 Chronos
057 1 0129565 1 0103857 0025708 6 030 42 140 395 007950 090 12 90048 Circle Track
058 3 0034000 1 0000000 0034000 8 301 39 040 000 001418 085 52 50309 Cityview
059 1 0090000 1 0000030 0000000 2 363 37 092 000 002440 019 52 44118 Cleveland Free Times
060 2 0420186 1 0345233 0074953 3 240 45 160 395 017810 029 12 35209 Coastal Living
061 2 0091042 2 0068281 0022760 4 020 54 100 499 003195 037 07 10010 Collector Editions
062 3 0600000 2 0072000 0000000 9 051 18 048 300 021000 086 04 64111 College Preview
063 2 0035000 1 0030000 0005000 8 301 42 200 250 002965 067 12 43229 Columbus Monthly
064 1 0040411 2 0039686 N/A     5 101 35 048 599 005760 032 12 10011 Computer Buyer's Guide
065 3 0085675 1 0081199 0004476 8 301 56 N/A 350 006515 042 12 06611 Connecticut Magazine
066 1 0381813 1 0000000 0000000 8 010 45 120 000 025005 036 12 02210 Continental
067   0041564 2 N/A     N/A     6 030    276 395 000750 041 12 33763 Corvette & Chevy Trader
068 2 0175000 2 N/A     N/A     3 240    086 399 003895 015 06 10016 Country Accents
069 3 0230435 2 0230435 N/A     8 301 54 032 400 003565 044 06 48864 Country Lines
070   0051179 2 0048700 0002479 7 350    024 375 000871 010 12 18328 Country Road Chronicles
071   0210000 2 0028000 0110000 3 240    N/A 399 003264 065 06 20190 Country's Best Log Homes
072 2 0190000 2 0126666 0064000 6 110 42 100 395 003360 033 10 78860 Craftworks
073 1 0147526 2 0125000 0016148 6 110 42 072 395 007880 156 05 55369 Cruising Rider
074 1 0314000 1 0235441 0078567 6 311 41 150 395 023555 061 12 92663 Cycle World
075 3 0120000 1 N/A     N/A     6 311 37 184 000 003772 030 52 75201 Dallas Observer
076 2 0084312 2 0062288 0017385 2 363 52 072 495 002015 030 06 45207 Decorative Artist's Wkbk
077 2 0053000 1 0053000 0000000 8 010 44 056 295 002473 057 12 94121 Diabetes Interview
078 2 0145000 2 0134850 0010150 7 430 44 100 395 003745 068 06 80935 Discipleship Journal
079 2 0055771 1 0034245 0021536 6 130 47 136 395 004370 029 12 60610 Dog World
080 2 0090000 1 0060000 0030000 6 110 50 120 499 002350 040 10 10010 Dolls
081 2 0039500 2 0039500 0000000 4 171 17 052 250 001630 030 09 45219 Dramatics
082 2 0035000 2 0003000 0010000 8 301 38 052 000 002595 024 04 85258 East Valley
083 1 0722984 1 0525115 0197869 2 001 49 120 395 042550 042 52 10019 Economist
084 2 0250000 2 0000000 0250000 9 451 15 050 249 008134 033 12 10016 Entertainmenteen
085 2 0053000 2 0007950 0045050 4 490 18 080 200 003750 036 26 33166 Eres
086 1 0052000 2 0032000 0020000 6 030    180 499 001660 027 08 94949 Excellence
087 2 5000000 1 3229494 1772889 3 490 46 128 169 161350 114 17 10017 Family Circle
088 2 0525000 2 0431000 0094000 5 080 40 115 295 025500 094 06 50309 Family Money
089 1 0021000 2 0014700 0006300 6 330 45 400 650 001649 042 06 07670 Fanfare
090 2 0058000 2 0051000 0007000 6 450 42 048 295 001162 353 04 46711 Fast & Fun Crochet
091   0450000 1 0450000 0000000 6 450 15 036 000 007791 044 06 46268 FFA New Horizons
092 2 0195000 1 0109000 0086000 4 180 47 090 595 005900 055 06 06470 Fine Cooking
093 3 0500000 2 N/A     0000000 9 051 17 036 300 019000 073 04 64111 First Opportunity
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094	1	0022026	2	0007823	0014203	6	190	46	100	499	001500	035	04	98112	Fish & Fly
095	1	0030000	2	0001500	0028500	6	060	64	028	000	001260	035	10	43452	Fishwrapper
096	1	0169784	1	0045545	0124239	7	191	29	335	599	056285	085	12	91367	Flex '
097	1	0031000	2	0031000	0000000	7	350	45	035	399	001980	143	04	33810	Florida Naturalist
098	1	0062000	1	0050739	0011261	6	190	50	092	395	002730	076	06	04843	Fly Rod & Reel
099	2	0042000	1	0000000	0042000	2	363	44	080	000	001905	054	52	32256	Folio Weekly
100	2	0300000	1	0000000	0300000	3	070	27	264	499	009000	027	04	10018	For the Bride
101	1	0110000	1	0091906	0018000	2	410	50	150	795	007300	065	06	10021	Foreign Affairs
102	1	0029395	1	0005932	0023463	6	030	50	096	499	001350	018	06	94949	Forza
103	2	0436914	2	0425545	0001369	2	220	40	024	159	004000	083	06	93014	Freebies
104	1	0020000	2	0019877	0000000	6	190		180	300	000250	022	12	62884	Full Cry
105	1	0576976	1	0489110	0087842	6	190	45	080	299	012925	015	06	30067	Game & Fish
106	2	0481431	1	0481431	0000000	3	210	49	091	000	013615	031	06	55343	Gardening How-To
107	3	0549550	1	0332960	0216590	2	410	39	120	295	003185	056	10	10019	George
108	1	0125000	1	0225000	0010000	6	060	48	125	350	004650	017	06	92614	Go Boating
109	1	0167004	1	0128357	0038647	6	450	52	084	299	004340	016	06	74137	Golf Illustrated
110	2	0060000	2	0013000	0010000	6	330	30	075	300	006400	031	06	37027	Gospel Today
111	3	0055000	2	0053400	0001600	1	420	33	100	595	003245	046	06	80539	Group Magazine
112	1	0191000	1	0071000	0120000	6	330	23	220	495	006825	018	12	10010	Guitar World
113	3	0030000	1	N/A	N/A	2	001	52	180	395	002536	030	10	34108	Gulfshore Life
114	1	0020000	2	0018000	0002000	6	190	55	016	200	000750	053	36	14209	Gun Week
115	3	0400000	1	0000200	0005000	2	001	32	205	395	009044	018	06	11968	Hamptons
116	1	0215000	1	0182750	0032250	2	220	44	088	450	011025	075	12	10012	Harper's
117	2	0080000	2	0008800	0020000	4	271	35	185	495	022000	053	06	93101	Healing Retreat/Spa
118	2	0300000	1	0227500	0105000	7	230	36	105	295	013515	038	06	20018	Heart & Soul
119	1	0494342	1	0000000	0000000	8	010	43	206	415	032810	031	12	27401	Hemispheres
120		0100000	2	0035000	0000000	6	231	55	080	250	000850	109	07	60093	Highlander
121	1	0100000	1	0095000	0005000	6	450	27	100	499	001323	024	08	60201	Hockey Digest
122	1	0034300	2	0021300	0012975	6	110	55	076	595	001092	047	06	49685	Home Shop Machinist
123	3	0027093	2	0000000	0000000	8	010	43	070	000	003640	019	12	98121	Horizon Air
124	3	0005000	1	0005000	0000000	6	250	55	100	N/A	000510	032	12	37162	Horse World
125	1	0008000	2	0008000	0000000	6	130	55	112	200	000402	026	12	16701	Hounds and Hunting
126	2	0350000	2	0000000	0350000	3	240	42	350	395	022050	044	04	10019	House Beaut K&B
127	2	0035000	1	N/A	0005000	8	301	53	092	500	002375	065	12	12601	Hudson Valley
128	1	0043000	1	0000200	0042800	9	211	33	100	500	001995	078	52	10011	HX Magazine
129	3	0162000	2	N/A	0000000	8	301	50	036	500	002206	035	12	62708	Ill Country Living
130		1000000	2	N/A	N/A	1	092	25	080	295	029910	055	06	60076	IN Magazine
131	1	0500000	1	0450000	0050000	5	080	44	112	399	032900	026	12	10004	Individual Investor
132	3	0038300	2	0035750	0002550	8	301	42	100	295	005900	021	12	77060	Inside Houston
133	3	0185000	1	0100000	0000000	8	460	48	156	N/A	015750	089	06	78701	Interline Adventrs
134	3	0780000	2	0770000	0000000	8	460	49	104	000	014100	047	04	33143	Interval
135		0005000	2	0004700	0000000	6	450		048	000	001125	027	06	75248	ISI Edge
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137	2	0150000	1	0150000	0000000	6	110	54	100	499	006000	076	06	60646	Joy of Collecting
138	1	0079000	2	N/A	N/A	4	411	26	108	495	002660	041	06	94124	Juxtapoz Art
139		0134758	1	0134758	0000000	8	302		028	000	003550	031	10	98109	KCTS Magazine
140	1	0070118	1	0031096	0013981	6	330	41	148	495	004665	074	12	94403	Keyboard Magazine
141	3	0200000	2	N/A	N/A	9	510	12	040	395	003000	037	06	92069	Kids' Wall St News
142	1	0300000	1	0300000	0000000	1	091	54	056	100	004800	059	10	46268	Kiwanis Magazine
143	2	0100000	1	0001000	0090000	3	382	34	092	100	003420	097	12	90064	LA Family Magazine
144	2	4525455	1	4088789	0436666	3	490	49	210	249	139900	009	12	10017	Ladies Home Journal
145	1	0080000	1	0020000	0060000	5	101	39	208	599	007945	033	13	10011	Laptop Buyers Guide
146	1	0055000	2	0015000	0040000	6	060	50	132	499	003000	071	06	90277	Latitudes and Att's
147	1	0015000	2	0013500	0001500	6	450	17	046	200	000979	032	52	55406	Let's Play Hockey
148	3	1000000	1	0000500	N/A	1	092	22	084	195	031000	022	06	10022	Link
149		0476000	2	0476000	0000000	8	301		034	0.5	004782	043	12	29033	Living in SC
150	1	0043857	2	0008394	0016396	6	450	34	128	699	004195	032	08	92672	Longboard Magazine
151	1	0045563	2	0020991	0023971	6	190	45	260	295	001183	049	12	70039	Louisiana Sportsman
152	1	0116100	2	0082900	0080000	5	101	48	100	395	010780	079	12	94103	Mac Home Journal
153	1	0005500	2	0004300	0001200	2	363	50	028	050	000707	020	52	04412	Maine Times
154	1	0040095	2	0031386	0008709	6	060	46	166	395	004255	017	06	32789	Marlin

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155	3	1663686	1	0850143	0813543	4	300	29	122	399	084000	103	12	10010	Maxim
156	3	0018950	1	0012854	0002220	8	301	50		250	002860	068	12	38101	Memphis
157	3	0050000	2	0000000	0000000	8	010	43	072	000	002645	051	12	89450	Meridian
158	3	0125000	1	0000115	N/A	3	382	32	040	000	002040	075	12	19125	MetroKids
159	3	0050000	2	N/A	N/A	6	450	29	070	100	002100	010	12	60607	MetroSports Wash
160	3	1026553	1	0001168	0000000	8	460	54	070	100	014150	063	10	48126	Michigan Living
161	2	0815000	1	0735907	0081000	3	240	55	180	395	037840	027	06	50309	Midwest Living
162	1	0148670	2	0078670	0070000	6	231	48	092	399	004380	030	06	20175	Military History
163		0510817	1	0000000	0000000	6	311		020	000	016000	048	12	20814	Military Lifestyle
164	3	0035000	1	0000000	0035000	8	301	51	076	250	002797	019	12	53012	Milwaukee Northshor
165	2	0070529	1	0017748	0003772	8	301	50	160	350	005025	048	12	55402	Minnesota Monthly
166	3	0149224	2	0000000	0000000	1	092	55	072	300	003200	061	04	65211	Mizzou
167	1	0095267	2	0038085	0056617	6	330	31	180	495	002975	038	12	07009	Modern Drummer
168	1	0037286	2	0006467	0030819	8	301	55	116	395	001470	068	06	59601	Montana Magazine
169	2	0095000	2	0044349	0028863	3	382	35	100	200	003116	043	06	87504	Mothering
170	1	0002710	2	0001670	0000420	6	030	30	032	200	000760	042	12	94566	MotoRacing
171	3	0301175	1	0247822	0053353	4	171		104	350	014820	022	11	90025	Movieline
172	2	0121704	2	0000834	0001349	8	301	39	112	495	005780	085	04	10010	Museums Boston
173	1	0035039	2	0000039	0003500	6	330	34	034	000	000835	037	12	21093	Music Monthly
174	1	0021970	2	0021395	0000353	6	190		N/A	400	000725	064	12	47021	Muzzle Blasts
175	1	0133426	1	0113426	0020000	6	030	36	104	250	003875	044	52	28202	Nascar Winston Cup
176	1	0080122	2	0075053	0002831	6	030	44	148	300	003004	045	52	91741	National Dragster
177	2	0057114	2	0046737	0009377	4	020	50	092	495	003850	026	24	85014	Native Peoples
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180	3	0111937	1	0106437	0005500	8	301	58	092	395	003330	051	12	87501	New Mexico Magazine
181	1	0104841	1	0102429	0002412	2	410	51	050	350	005940	066	52	20036	New Republic
182	2	0047000	1	0014100	0023500	8	301	28	064	250	003200	045	12	11722	New York Nightlife
183	3	1651421	1	0941310	0710111	2	220	45	118	000	047210	047	52	10036	New York Times Mag
184	2	0325000	2	0000000	0000000	9	451	17	056	395	013000	019	06	14564	Next Step Magazine
185	1	0500000	1	0500000	0000000	6	190	38	100	229	014815	046	07	55343	North Am Fisherman
186	3	0065000	2	0065000	0000000	9	510	17	028	000	001537	024	07	10001	NYouth Connections
187	1	0060514	2	0059920	0000594	6	030	59	056	195	001995	009	52	54990	Old Cars Weekly
188	3	0039000	1	0000000	0039000	8	301	35	052	000	001417	013	12	49506	On the Town
189	2	0032924	1	0020896	0002166	8	301	49	N/A	295	003740	350	12	92660	Orange Coast
190	3	0030000	1	0018000	0004915	8	301	50	100	350	002805	062	12	32714	Orlando Magazine
191		0004800	2	0004800	0000000	3	382		048	000	001695	035	12	78216	Our Kids San Antonio
192	1	0015000	1	0015000	0000000	6	000	55	060	000	000825	013	06	63103	Outdoor Guide Magazine
193		0096000	1	0096000	0000000	6	450	50	050	000	005218	031	04	98125	Pacific Northwest Golfer
194		0063982	2	0030128	0017605	6	110	N/A		495	001699	050	06	60018	Painting
195		0071322	2	0029450	0034572	4	411	N/A		N/A	005910	057	12	10013	Paper
196	2	0075000	2	0001200	0073800	9	451	33	050	125	002345	070	12	94710	Parent Teen
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198	1	0173468	1	0136043	0037425	5	101	43	134	399	009175	022	08	90025	PCPhoto
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203	3	0048570	1	0045566	0003004	8	301	44	175	350	004709	071	12	15213	Pittsburg Magazine
204	1	0131000	2	0131000	0000000	4	300	33	030	000	001175	026	10	98125	Play On
205	1	0376000	2	0376000	N/A	9	451	07	032	295	010000	107	12	94109	Pokemon
206	1	1239654	1	0198344	1041310	6	450	39	100	295	059430	059	12	10019	Popular Mechanics
207	3	0020000	2	0000000	0000000	7	230	30	028	000	000850	009	04	98133	Portland Sports Planner
208	1	0150000	2	0008500	0004800	7	230	50	350		012734	036	12	10014	Poz
209	2	3037457	1	2514337	0523120	7	230	40	180	249	079700	042	12	18098	Prevention
210	2	0095000	1	N/A	N/A	2	280	30	053	000	003200	049	06	37076	Profile Magazine
211	1	0256570	1	0167295	0089275	9	451	20	N/A	499	011440	085	12	94005	PSM-100% IndePlayStation
212	2	0078064	1	0073975	0004089	6	250	45	555	425	001475	049	04	79168	Quarter Horse Journal
213		0001000	2	0001000	0000000	7	430		N/A	250	000350	056	04	20824	Quest: Hist/Space Flght
214	1	0042504	1	0032600	0012604	6	030	41	108	399	002970	038	12	92780	Racer
215	1	0050000	2	0025000	0025000	6	110	50	068	395	001169	123	12	07860	Railfan & Railroad

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216 1 0053111 1 0045627 0006000 2 410 50 074 295 001790 051 11 90034 Reason
217 1 0031000 2 0031000 0000000 6 450 35 080 495 001295 028 12 53405 Referee
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219 2 0032000 2 0000000 0032000 3 382 35 027 085 001555 056 12 02130 Rhode Isl Parents' Paper
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221 1 0750000 1 0615000 0135000 6 030 43 140 395 050550 066 12 92663 Road & Track
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224 1 0616571 1 0283449 0000000 6 190 50 100 399 019250 009 12 35209 Rural Sportsman
225 1 0037000 2 0037000 0000000 6 190 48 172 895 002305 013 06 85745 Safari Magazine
226 2 0051694 1 0043940 0007754 8 301 54 180 350 005060 056 12 92101 San Diego Magazine
227 1 0027507 2 0009600 0017817 6 030 27 072 499 001510 032 04 92626 Sand Sports
228 3 0214953 1 0168062 0046891 3 470 52 320 595 007325 037 12 22031 Satellite Orbit
229 1 0068000 2 0007480 0060520 6 450 26 084 395 002695 134 04 94124 Schwing
230 3 0028000 2 0014000 0014000 8 460 55 092 450 000895 083 04 02045 Scottish Life
231 3 0085000 2 0000000 0000000 8 460 29 048 000 001020 017 04 98104 Seattle Compass
232 2 1142683 1 0783199 0359484 4 490 34 184 299 044290 033 12 10036 Self
233 2 0500000 1 N/A      N/A      3 382 29 060 000 024095 031 04 10017 Ser Padres
234 2 1538192 1 1166328 0371684 4 490 32 150 299 057770 062 12 91367 Shape
235 3 0100000 2 0006500 0000000 8 301 35 032 000 004793 033 12 08232 Shorecast
236 1 0087000 1 0050000 0037000 6 390 35 300 395 004825 102 12 32780 Shutterbug
237 1 0423671 1 0392928 0030743 6 450 33 250 399 025685 050 07 10016 Skiing Magazine
238 1 0200000 1 0050000 0050000 4 300 35 200 499         063 04 10036 Smoke
239 2 1100000 1 0725000 0375898 3 490 36 132 299 028584 098 52 10016 Soap Opera Digest
240 3 0013000 2 0008000 N/A      6 450 49 040 295 001145 036 17 74145 Sooners Illustrated
241 2 0100000 2 0010000 0090000 4 271 40 100 495 004545 055 04 35242 Southern Lady
242 2 0054664 2 0019291 0008514 4 490 40 132 395 003660 034 06 93013 Spa
243 1 0060000 2 0045600 0009600 6 030 35 040 200 001300 068 52 02356 Speedway Scene
244 1 0175000 1 0164000 0011000 6 450 35 134 395 011305 046 06 32789 Sport Diver
245 1 0454144 1 0434086 0020058 6 000 44 100 399 017955 014 10 91602 Sports Afield
246 1 0960400 1 0931588 0028812 9 510 11 090 299 050000 030 12 10020 Sports Illustr for Kids
247 2 0050000 2 0000000 0050000 1 281 65 036 000 001950 040 12 63141 St. Louis Times
248 1 0017409 2 0013381 0000289 6 110 47 065 225 000825 066 24 54990 Stamp Collector
249 1 0452625 1 0340445 0037180 3 470 34 168 399 038675 154 10 10019 Stereo Reviews Sound/Vis
250 1 0105000 1 0012000 0000000 2 001 45 132 000 009000 085 04 37421 Stratos
251 1 0750000 1 0600000 0150000 4 300 27 168 399 031500 018 12 10018 Stuff
252 2 0044000 2 0000500 0000000 1 281 67 048 000 001925 032 09 85381 Sun Life
253 1 0191777 1 0135030 0056747 6 030 31 155 375 005730 225 12 92806 Super Chevy
254 1 0122000 1 0065000 0048000 6 450 21 190 399 008935 021 12 92629 Surfer
255 2 0600000 1 N/A      N/A      4 411 32 195 350 033840 012 12 10019 Talk
256 2 0025000 2 0010000 0015000 3 240 40 064 000 001147 039 04 55420 TC Family Magazine
257 2 0047000 2 0030000 0013000 6 110 50 128 499 001420 048 06 17112 Teddy Bear and Friends
258 2 0033616 1 0000536 0032157 4 490 30 068 199 000600 038 12 33134 Tele Revista
259 1 0075000 1 0075000 0000000 1 092 56 096 150 001395 040 06 78705 Texas Alcalde
260 1 0058000 1 0000030 N/A      6 000 50 040 000 001850 034 12 77092 Texas Golfer
261 1 0155964 1 0154173 0001791 9 510 49 078 395 005485 026 12 78704 Texas Parks & Wildlife
262 1 0200801 2 0050200 0140560 9 510 17 208 395 004285 067 12 94188 Thrasher Skateboard
263 1 0040000 2 0020000 0020000 3 240 42 096 499 003540 015 06 10016 Timber Homes Illustrated
264 2 0084192 1 0003608 0080584 9 051 30 110 399 003995 048 09 07652 Today's Black Woman
265 1 0955713 1 0945208 0010505 3 240 43 125 295 035305 016 10 10016 Today's Homeowner
266 3 0030000 1 0000200 0000000 8 301 24 024 000 001100 101 52 43624 Toledo City Paper
267 1 0025513 1 0025513 N/A      6 110 50 100 395 000570 034 12 58548 Toy Farmer
268 1 0025024 2 0018970 0003603 6 450    070 295 002585 031 12 94040 Track & Field
269 1 0035000 2 0004200 0030800 6 450 42 067 399 002395 099 06 80305 Trail Runner
270 3 0612101 1 0464932 0008540 8 460 48 157 299 031375 057 10 10019 Travel Holiday
271 3 0100000 2 0075000 0025000 8 460 34 092 350 007500 060 06 94607 Trips
272 1 0210682 2 0095603 0072514 6 110 39 250 499 002195 055 12 54990 Tuff Stuff
273 3 0043000 2 0043000 0000000 3 470 42 144 225 002715 052 52 28152 TV Plus
274 3 0235000 2 0119750 0000000 1 092 49 068 200 004450 048 04 90024 UCLA Magazine
275 2 0850434 1 0494468 0355966 4 171 32 100 000 051760 055 52 10104 US Weekly
276   0081528 2 0079028 0001968 6 450 11 052 395 001831 044 06 46225 USA Gymnastics
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281	1	0071931	1	0059183	0012748	3	470	50	156	399	004480	065	13	95928	Videomaker
282	1	0035000	2	0035000	0000000	6	450	50	044	295	002495	031	06	55422	Virginia Golfer
283		0286410	2	0050000	0200000	7	230	58	028	000	002537	080	04	65201	Voice of the Diabetic
284	1	0070000	2	0000000	0040000	6	450	22	164	395	003820	010	09	32789	Wakeboarding Magazine
285	3	0078556	2	0027899	0010686	4	020	54	114	395	001015	187	12	54990	Warman's Today's Collctr
286	1	0100000	1	0075000	0000000	6	450	49	120	400	003725	096	12	20002	Washington Golf Monthly
287	1	0030418	1	0016339	0014079	6	060	36	100	350	002515	026	09	55369	Watercraft World
288	1	0132037	2	0092426	0039611	6	110	50	068	499	002200	093	06	94518	Weekend Woodcrafts
289	3	0024000	1	0000000	0024000	8	170	41	090	000	000785	033	52	33162	Welcome to Miami/Beaches
290	1	0068802	1	0065361	0003440	6	190	52	056	185	002483	129	52	92626	Western Outdoor News
291	1	0015218	1	0014226	0000992	6	190	39	139	475	001536	106	06	90048	Wing & Shot
292	2	0049558	2	0034769	0011870	8	301	50	100	395	002825	026	06	53515	Wisconsin Trails
293	2	0450000	1	0000000	0450000	3	210	44	112	399	027000	088	04	10019	Woman's Day Gardnng & OL
294	1	0600236	1	0533636	0066600	6	110	56	112	595	031175	050	09	50309	Wood Magazine
295	1	0042286	2	0018790	0023220	6	110	50	084	499	002025	151	06	94949	Woodwork
296	2	0929121	1	0910539	0018582	3	382	35	116	295	048840	045	10	10020	Working Mother
297	1	0165000	2	0134646	0022731	6	231	58	092	399	003770	053	07	20175	World War II
298	1	0013890	2	0010515	0002400	4	171	49	058	500	002592	016	10	90048	Written By
299	3	0702210	1	0671506	0030704	8	301	53	150	299	023225	117	10	03444	Yankee Magazine
300	1	0030000	2	0007500	0000000	9	510	17	036	350	003500	042	06	45140	Young Money

DATASET 1990

Dataset on U.S. Consumer Magazines, March 1991
Available from http://www.cios.org/getfile\magstats_dataset

Random sample (228 cases) derived from nth-name sort from Standard Rate and Data Directory).

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------------------------------Code Book 1990-------------------------------
1-3 Case number
    5 Gender (1 male, 2 female, 3 joint i.e. <60% gender-specific)
      7-11 Circulation, 000's
            13 Abrahamson category (1 thru 9, see MAGSTATS ARTICLE
             14-16 SRDS category (nn0=nn+null, nn1=A, nn2=nnB)
                 18-19  Median reader age, years
                    21-24  Cover price (e.g. 0200=$2.00)
                         26-31  Page rate, 1xB&W (e.g. 005145=$5,145)
                                33-35  CPM, $ (page rate/circ)
                                    37-38  Publishing frequency/year
                                       40+ Magazine title

------------------------------Dataset--------------------------------

001 1 00095 1310 25 0200 005145  54 52 Air Force Times
002 2 00250 6340    0225 006080  24 13 Alfred Hitchcock's Mystery
003 1 00034 1420 55 0125 000850  25 43 America
004 2 00015 7350    0500 000800  53 05 American Birds
005 1 00011 6130 50 0150 000672  61 52 American Field
006 2 00806 7230    0195 016630  21 10 American Health
007 2 00828 1200 52 0075 008510  10 06 Am. Legion Auxiliary Nat. News
008 3 00087 8170 38 0000 002680  31 05 American Repertory Theater Guide
009 1 00040 6450 37 0295 002135  53 06 American Snowmobiler
010 2 00200 2220 58 0295 005170  26 06 Americana
011 3 00010 8301 40 0250 001190 119 12 Annapolitan
012 2 00060 4020    0075 001084  18 51 AntiqueWeek
013 2 00013 6250 35 0500 000400  31 12 Arabian Horse World
014 3 00154 1281 67 0100 004480  29 12 Arizona Senior World
015 2 00500 7230 62 0250 008600  17 06 Arthritis Today
016 2 00274 6020 50 0275 005405  20 12 Artist's
017 1 00054 6030 34 0200 002190  41 12 Autcmundo
018 3 00285 6450 37 0200 004400  15 08 Balls and Strikes
019 2 00600 9510 08 0195 012000  20 04 Barbie
020 1 00288 6450 30 0350 000950   3 12 Baseball Card Price Guide Monthly
021 1 00533 6190 35 0295 015490  29 10 Bassmaster
022 1 00019 6450    0200 000770  41 26 Bear Report
023 1 00104 5080    0200 003690  35 12 Better Investing
024 1 00020 6450 34 0250 000730  37 06 Billiards Digest
025 2 00020 8301 46 0350 002025 101 06 Boca Raton
026 2 00067 3381 35 0083 002400  36 12 Boston Parents' Paper
027 1 00164 6190 38 0295 002434  15 11 Bowhunting World
028 1 00042 8460 51 0300 005700 136 11 Business Traveler International
029 3 07100 3302 37 0175 078485  11 12 Cable Guide
030 3 00026 3302    0000 000236   9 12 Cableview-Indianapolis
031 3 00357 8301 47 0200 014725  41 12 California
032 2 00010 6250 30 0295 000440  44 12 California Horse Review
033 1 00110 3470 35 0295 001399  13 08 Camcorder
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034 1 00005 6450 25 0200 000500 100 06 Canoe & Kayak Racing News
035 1 00950 6030 30 0295 035460 37 12 Car and Driver
036 3 00250 5080 26 0250 025440 102 06 Career Focus
037 3 00027 3210 46 0200 000990 37 08 Carolina Gardener
038 2 00129 6130 0250 005043 39 12 Cats
039 2 00033 6110 45 0225 000660 20 10 Ceramics
040 1 00092 6030 0295 002295 25 06 Chevrolet High Performance
041 2 00073 3381 35 0116 002318 32 12 Chicago Parent Newsmagazine
042 2 00076 9510 09 0174 000800 11 08 Child Life, Ages 9-11
043 3 00050 4180 45 0295 001725 35 06 Chile Pepper
044 2 00220 1420 47 0250 002528 11 06 Christian Reader
045 2 00040 1420 56 0127 001200 30 11 Church Herald
046 2 00015 8301 38 0295 001635 109 04 CITI
047 3 00196 2220 0250 006168 31 09 Class
048 3 00042 8301 44 0195 003150 75 12 Cleveland
049 1 00075 6110 51 0195 001840 25 52 Coin World
050 3 00014 4020 50 0395 000620 44 09 Collector's Showcase
051 2 00023 8301 40 0250 001837 80 06 Colorado Homes & Lifestyles
052 1 00117 6190 001740 15 04 Columbia Waterfowl & Upland Game
053 1 00035 2220 54 0375 003190 91 12 Commentary
054 1 00340 5101 0295 007175 21 12 Computer Shopper
055 2 00700 2220 47 0250 017645 25 10 Country America
056 1 00004 6190 45 0125 000212 53 12 Dakota Outdoors
057 1 00045 1092 50 0300 001565 35 09 Dartmouth Alumni
058 1 00275 8460 44 0000 018750 68 06 Departures
059 3 00050 8301 39 0000 003622 72 12 Diablo
060 3 01082 9092 20 0000 021600 20 04 Directory of Classes
061 3 00085 1200 0200 002970 35 04 Discovery YMCA
062 3 00285 5080 34 0300 009495 33 06 Dollars & Sense
063 1 00074 8301 56 0295 001850 25 12 Down East
064 1 00321 6311 32 0350 013789 43 12 Easyriders
065 2 00250 6340 0225 006080 24 13 Ellery Queen's Mystery
066 1 00056 6060 0125 001980 35 12 Ensign
067 2 00039 6250 35 0750 001397 36 04 Equine Images
068 2 00255 4490 36 0250 004457 17 06 Executive Female
069 1 00054 6030 35 0295 001140 21 06 Fabulous Mustangs & Exotic Fords
070 2 05147 3490 44 0139 075470 15 17 Family Circle
071 2 00446 8301 40 0000 018310 41 06 Family Living
072 1 00170 6450 35 0350 002450 14 06 Fantasy Baseball
073 1 02016 6190 36 0195 041735 21 12 Field & Stream
074 1 00082 6110 40 0295 001850 23 08 FineScale Modeler
075 1 00117 6190 42 0250 004140 35 07 Fishing Facts
076 2 00021 8301 60 0200 001384 66 12 Florida Living
077 2 00573 3210 47 0295 008690 15 06 Flower & Garden
078 2 00050 4020 3200 009090 182 06 FMR
079 1 00063 6450 25 0295 000425 7 12 Football,Bsktbll,Hockey Collector
080 1 00115 2410 44 0695 005830 51 05 Foreign Affairs
081 1 00339 6030 0295 007545 22 12 Four Wheeler
082 1 00800 8460 33 0149 010500 13 06 Friends
083 1 00362 4300 0400 004325 12 12 Gallery
084 3 00125 7350 38 0395 003620 27 06 Garbage
085 1 00030 8301 39 0000 001800 60 04 Georgia
086 2 02300 4500 28 0250 042580 19 12 Glamour
087 1 00057 9510 11 0150 003450 5 12 Goofy Adventures
088 3 00027 1420 34 0495 000910 34 05 Group's Junior High Ministry
089 1 00043 6030 32 0250 001080 25 06 Guide to Muscle Cars
090 2 00022 8301 47 0300 002550 116 10 Gulf Coast
091 1 00007 6190 40 0323 000299 43 04 Gun Show Calendar
092 2 00116 4490 0250 006328 55 08 Harper's Bazaar En Espanol
093 1 00205 5080 41 1350 012000 59 06 Harvard Business Review
094 3 00085 8010 0000 003505 41 12 Hawaiian Airlines

095	3	00150	5080	44	0200	006354	42	12	Hispanic Business
096	2	00925	3240	36	0195	024920	27	12	Home
097	1	00350	5080	42	0295	014340	41	12	Home Office Computing
098	3	00069	8301	46	0200	003485	50	12	Honolulu
099	2	00080	6250	24	0200	000900	11	12	Horse and Horseman
100	1	00047	6250	50	0300	001254	27	12	Horseman's Journal
101	1	00904	6030		0295	022970	25	12	Hot Rod
102	3	00200	3240	36	0295	007485	37	05	House Beautiful's Houses & Plans
103	1	00325	6190	34	0295	007700	24	12	Hunting
104	3	00270	8301	55	0300	002145	8	04	Illinois Farm Bureau Almanac
105	1	00126	5101	40	0395	006250	50	12	InCider A+
106	3	00070	8301	35	0225	004490	64	08	Inside Chicago
107	2	00095	6110	60	0295	001200	13	06	International Doll World
108	3	00014	3302		0000	000550	39	12	Jacksonville Public Broadcst News
109	1	00057	6330	36	0295	001600	28	10	Jazztimes
110	3	00700	9510	13	0000	009745	14	18	Junior Scholastic
111	3	00347	8301	40	0150	002800	8	12	Kentucky Living
112	2	01139	5080	58	0250	021855	19	12	Kiplinger's Personal Finance
113	3	00060	8010	37	0416	001850	31	06	Lacsa's World
114	3	00006	8301	40	0200	000950	158	12	LB Monthly
115	3	01713	2220	35	0295	054110	32	14	Life
116	1	00616	1091	56	0037	004438	7	10	Lion
117	3	00110	3240	40	0325	003370	31	06	Log Home Living
118	3	00172	8301	44	0250	007520	44	12	Los Angeles
119	2	01178	4500	29	0250	027160	23	12	Madamoiselle
120	3	00017	7230	37	0300	000898	53	10	Mainstream
121	2	01000	1281	54	0175	026225	26	06	McCall's Silver Edition
122	1	00278	7300		0295	012055	43	06	Men's Health
123	3	00130	6450	32	0195	006850	37	11	MetroSports
124	3	00372	8460	42	0050	004920	13	06	Midwest Motorist
125	2	00025	6110	55	0395	000895	36	04	Miniature Collector
126	3	00010	8301	35	0400	001650	165	04	Missouri
127	3	00040	4500	27	0200	002250	56	12	Models & Talent Internatl Network
128	3	00110	2220	38	0295	004095	37	06	Mother Jones
129	1	00063	6450	23	0295	001895	30	12	Mountain Bike Action
130	1	00075	6030	33	0295	002618	35	12	Muscle Car Review
131	2	03803	2220	37	0085	039500	10	52	National Enquirer
132	1	00145	2410	49	0295	005230	36	26	National Review
133	3	00046	1310	35	0057	001536	33	52	Navy News
134	3	00025	8301	42	0200	001900	76	12	Network Publications-Manchester
135	1	00038	2220	44	0300	002000	53	12	New Dimensions
136	2	00070	9510	16	0000	001080	15	08	New Expression
137	1	00097	2410	44	0350	004500	46	52	New Republic
138	1	00107	2280	48	0225	006200	58	22	New York Review of Books
139	2	00050	8301	50	0200	003850	77	26	Newport Beach (714)
140	1	00123	6190	44	0300	002895	24	06	North American Fisherman
141	3	00052	8301	47	0150	002550	49	12	Northeast Ohio Avenues
142	2	00038	6110	45	0350	000850	22	12	Nutshell News
143	1	00528	1310	39	0000	012740	24	06	Off Duty-America
144	3	00380	8460	50	0020	004895	13	11	Ohio Motorist
145	3	00150	3240	41	0395	003050	20	06	Old-House Journal
146	3	00038	8301	42	0295	003250	86	12	Orange Coast
147	1	00071	6390	36	0395	002500	35	04	Outdoor & Travel Photography
148	1	00026	7350	43	0350	002150	77	04	Pacific Discovery
149	2	00017	8301	58	0350	002410	142	12	Palm Beach Life
150	1	00020	6450	33	0200	000640	32	12	Parachutist
151	2	00075	3381	30	0125	001871	25	12	Parents' Press
152	1	00012	1420	43	0250	000730	61	11	PCA Messenger
153	3	00152	8301	47	0000	001746	11	12	Penn Lines
154	1	00078	1092	50	0300	002710	35	09	Pennsylvania Gazette
155	2	00035	6250	36	0295	001150	33	12	Performance Horseman

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156	1	00060	6450	53	0200	003527	59	05	Philadelphia Golf
157	3	00057	3302	49	0000	001688	30	12	Phoenix KART
158	1	00139	6390	30	0400	003900	28	06	Picture Perfect
159	2	00061	4020	40	0450	002130	35	06	Plate World
160	1	00028	6060	40	0250	001580	56	12	Pleasure Boating
161	1	01651	4300	38	0195	038095	23	12	Popular Mechanics
162	3	00034	7230	40	0375	001222	36	04	Positive Approach
163	1	00168	2220	44	0300	006450	38	06	Private Clubs
164	1	00054	6450	40	0300	001750	32	30	Pro Football Weekly
165	3	00068	6250		0275	001160	17	12	Quarter Horse Journal
166	2	00354	6110	50	0100	004000	11	06	Quick & Easy Crochet
167	1	00035	5101	32	0395	001550	44	12	Rainbow
168	3	16396	2220	46	0197	112660	7	12	Reader's Digest
169	1	00036	6450	37	0350	000730	20	12	Referee
170	3	00001	2410		0400	000500	500	04	Responsive Community
171	1	00030	8301	46	0250	001600	53	06	Richmond Flyer
172	1	00100	9330	17	0350	002565	26	12	RIP
173	3	00009	8301	38	0250	001750	194	12	Roanoker
174	3	00280	8301	45	0045	002030	7	12	Rural Georgia
175	2	00030	3240	55	0195	001550	52	11	San Antonio Homes & Gardens
176	2	00056	8301	33	0146	001786	32	52	San Jose Metro
177	3	00372	3470	51	0250	006400	17	52	Satellite TV Week
178	1	00237	7430	42	0100	004982	21	52	Science News
179	1	00023	7430		0223	001695	74	26	Scientist
180	2	00034	8301	37	0075	001640	48	52	Seattle Weekly
181	1	00300	8460	32	0000	000405	1	12	See the Florida Keys
182	3	00336	1281	63	0000	001575	5	12	Senior
183	3	00036	1281	63	0100	001440	40	12	Senior Times
184	2	01175	9490	04	0169	037044	32	10	Sesame Street
185	1	00010	6450	35	0195	000660	66	12	Silent Sports
186	1	00440	6450	32	0200	018435	42	07	Skiing
187	1	00027	6450	28	0075	001795	66	12	Slo-Pitch News
188	1	00022	6450	40	0195	002400	109	16	Snow Week
189	2	00200	3490	30	0250	001912	10	26	Soap Opera Update
190	3	00039	8301	44	0300	005100	131	12	South Florida
191	2	00075	4020	58	0450	006000	80	12	Southwest Art
192	1	00625	6450	36	0250	014950	24	52	Sporting News
193	1	00075	6450		0250	000765	10	12	Sports Card Trader
194	3	00100	2410		0080	003188	32	52	Spotlight
195	1	00115	1092	49	0450	003500	30	04	Stanford
196	1	00040	6030		0295	002042	51	04	Super Street Truck
197	1	00020	6450	32	0250	001190	60	07	Tavern Sports International
198	2	01163	9490	15	0225	016410	14	12	Teen Magazine
199	3	00332	8301	44	0100	002740	8	12	Tennessee
200	1	00033	6311	25	0295	001625	43	12	Three & Four Wheel Action
201	3	00160	4020	43	0125	002000	13	12	Toastmaster
202	1	00300	9510	18	0295	008000	27	04	Topps
203	1	00030	6450	40	0250	001400	47	12	Track & Field News
204	1	00046	6190	42	0325	000595	13	12	Trapper & Predator Caller
205	2	00650	6110	55	0149	001710	3	26	TV Crosswords
206	3	00065	9220	16	0000	001495	23	10	Twenty-First Century
207	3	00157	1092	39	0200	005396	34	04	UCLA
208	1	00042	6450	34	0295	001783	42	12	Underwater USA
209	3	16855	2220	42	0000	164780	10	52	Usa Weekend
210	3	00272	8460	55	0295	005500	20	04	Vacations
211	2	00161	7230	40	0295	002775	17	12	Vegetarian Times
212	1	02000	1200	62	0200	014000	7	11	VFW
213	3	00653	7230	47	0295	010000	15	04	Vim & Vigor
214	2	01215	4500	31	0300	032410	37	12	Vogue
215	3	00049	6190	37	0295	001198	24	06	Walleye
216	1	00036	2410	47	0350	002000	59	10	Washington Monthly

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217 3 00245 8170 47 0000 007285  30 12 Washington, DC Stagebill
218 3 00060 2280 32 0250 002195  37 06 West Coast Review of Books
219 3 00127 6190 55 0250 003342  26 09 Western Outdoors
220 1 00078 2220 47 0500 003100  40 04 Wilson Quarterly
221 1 00120 6180 44 0250 008310  69 22 Wine Spectator
222 3 00055 8301 47 0350 002145  39 06 Wisconsin Trails
223 2 00450 3240 38 0295 019440  43 04 Woman's Day Kitchens & Baths
224 2 00035 4490 29 0100 001699  49 12 Woman's Record
225 1 00090 6110    0150 001175  13 12 Woodshop News
226 2 00725 4490 32 0195 020488  34 12 Working Mother
227 1 00200 6231    0295 002825  14 06 World War II
228 3 00028 9450 13 0075 001395  50 12 Youth Soccer News
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